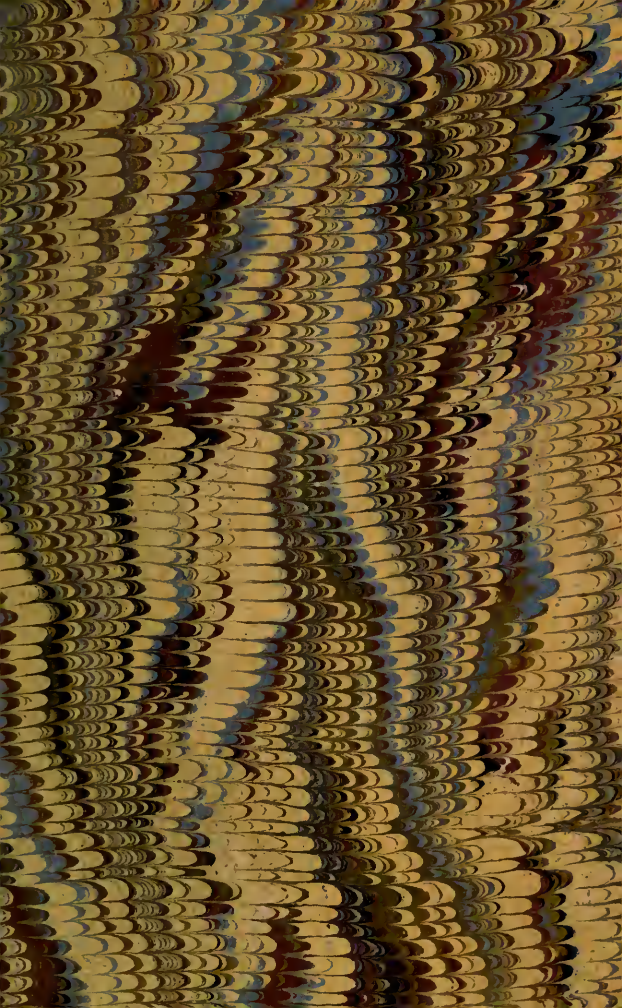

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BRITISH INDIA.

VOL. III.



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THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

BY THE

Rev. G. R. GLEIG, M. A., M.R.S.L., &c.

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It will be necessary now to revert to certain transactions which kept pace with the great events recorded at the end of the second volume. We have stated, that, among other measures adopted with a view to introduce the blessings of good government into the Company's territories, was the establishment, under the direct authority of the king, of a supreme court of judicature at Fort William. It was

enacted, that the court in question should consist of a chief-justice and three puisne judges; it was empowered to administer in India all the departments of English law; it was constituted a court of common law, a court of equity, a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery —an ecclesiastical court—and a court of admiralty. All proceedings pending in the mayor's court were transferred to it, and to it also were directed to be delivered up the records of the court of which it assumed the place. Its jurisdiction, again, was declared to extend over all British subjects in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; it was authorised to hear and determine suits or actions of British subjects against natives, where the cause might involve a sum exceeding five hundred rupees, and where the parties at issue might have agreed, in case of dispute, to submit to the court's decision. In affairs of penal law, again, its powers extended not only to British subjects, but to all persons who might be employed, either directly or indirectly, in the service of the Company, or of any British subjects, at the period when the offence was committed. Finally, it was declared that the supreme court should not be competent to hear and determine any indictment or information against the governor-general or any of the council, for any offence, not being treason or felony.

We have shown that, on the 24th March, 1774, the newly-appointed judges, namely, Elijah Impey, Esq., chief-justice; Robert

Chambers, Esq., S. C. Le Maistre, Esq., and John Hyde, Esq., puisne judges, took leave of the Court of Directors. They pledged themselves on that occasion to promote, by every means in their power, the honour and interests of the Company, and that they seriously intended to redeem the pledge, it were both presumptuous and illiberal to doubt; but a short experience of their mode of doing so served to prove, either that the nature of the powers assigned to them had been very inadequately explained, or that they were determined to pay to the definition no attention. The truth, indeed, appears to be, not only that the judges themselves were impressed with an exaggerated notion of the dignity of the office which they were appointed to fill, but that the parliament which established the supreme court of judicature in Fort William legislated with a degree of rashness for which it is not easy to account. They saw not that they were virtually erecting two independent and rival powers in India, that of the supreme council and that of the supreme court. They drew no line of distinction between them, but left it for the members of each body to put upon the terms of the act such interpretation as to themselves might appear most convenient. The consequences were, a series of cabals and disputes, highly discreditable to those engaged in them, which unnerved for a season the powers of government, and threatened their destruction.

Up to the present moment no attempt had

ever been made to bring the natives of the country, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, into subjection to the English law. In civil as well as in criminal cases the utmost care had, on the contrary, been taken to administer justice, as nearly as it was practicable, according to immemorial usage; which, however rude it might appear in the eyes of men educated at one of our inns of court, accorded well with the habits and prejudices of the people. The new judges were scarcely arrived ere they affected to discover that an order of things so anomalous was contrary to the spirit of the act from which their own authority was derived. They contended that, in a certain sense, every inhabitant of British India was a British subject; that, as such, all who claimed the protection of the court were entitled to receive it; and that, at all events, the jurisdiction of the court undeniably extended over the zemindars, talookdars, and other farmers of the revenue, who could be considered in no other light than as servants of the East India Company. Carrying this theory into practice, the supreme court issued writs at the suit of individuals against the zemindars of the country in ordinary actions of debt; the zemindars were summoned to answer the charges brought against them at Calcutta; if they neglected the writ, they were taken into custody, and hurried from the most remote provinces to the capital, where, in case of failure in finding bail, they were cast into prison. All this, moreover, was done upon

the unquestioned affidavit of any person whatsoever, who, whether trustworthy or the reverse, might be willing to swear that the party prosecuted was within the jurisdiction of the court, while the stations from which the unfortunate prisoners were dragged were at the distance sometimes of five hundred miles from Calcutta. Now, if it be borne in mind that, under the Mohammedan governments, no deeper disgrace could be put upon a man of rank than incarceration; that the system of arrest and imprisonment for debt was absolutely novel in India; that the persons arrested were, for the most part, entire strangers in Calcutta, a circumstance which rendered it next to impossible for them to procure bail; and hence that, in nineteen cases out of twenty, the disgrace so much dreaded was actually incurred—if all these facts be borne in mind, it will be seen that the sufferings inflicted upon the unhappy objects of the court's extravagant zeal were, by many degrees, more severe than were inflicted even in a compulsory separation of a man from his family, and the probable derangement of his pecuniary affairs. For the treatment of these unfortunate individuals affected not merely their persons and their property, but their moral state. They became degraded in their own eyes, as well as in the eyes of their countrymen; and being left without the smallest redress, even when judicially pronounced injured, they returned home with a conviction on their minds that justice was no

longer to be expected at the hands of their rulers.

No great time elapsed ere proceedings so unusual began to create an universal alarm throughout the country. Men saw themselves surrounded with dangers of a terrible nature from a new and mysterious source, the operations of which they were altogether unable to comprehend, for the principles of English law were not only strange and incomprehensible, but opposite and shocking to some of their strongest opinions and feelings. The consequence was, that business came every where to a stand; even the collection of the revenue became difficult and uncertain, because of the anomalous situation into which both the payer and the receiver were thrown; and the attention of the Company's servants and of the members of the government was painfully attracted to a state of things which had hitherto had no parallel. But if such were the effects of the system while as yet confined to proceedings against individuals, they were felt a thousand times more acutely when the very courts established by the authority of the ruling power found their privileges rudely invaded.

We have taken more than one occasion to show that, to the great branch of the government intrusted in India with the collection of the revenue, ample powers have at all times been afforded to determine disputes arising out of such collections, and to enforce obedience to its own decrees. These powers, during Mr.

Hastings's administration, were exercised by the provincial councils and the courts of dewanee adawlut, which were in the habit of summarily deciding upon claims set up by the zemindars, and of compelling payments to be made as often as they appeared to be due, by the simple process of restraint. In a short time the supreme court began to interfere with these proceedings. The defaulters were given to understand that, if they would throw themselves on the protection of the court, they would obtain redress; they were taught, as often as any coercive process was employed by the courts of revenue, to sue out a writ of habeas corpus in the supreme court, and it rarely happened that they were not by the judges set at liberty on bail. If the previous treatment of the zemindars tended to embarrass the collectors, by diminishing their respectability in the eyes of the ryots, this fresh invasion of all established usages proved still more fruitful in evil. The ryots, well disposed, under all circumstances, to hold back their payments, became now more irregular than ever, while the necessity of enforcing such payments by the tedious and expensive forms of English law, rendered the realization of the revenue not only difficult, but next to impossible.

While the supreme court thus conducted itself in questions affecting the fiscal and civil government of the country, its interference in the administration of criminal justice was neither less arrogant nor less mischievous. Hitherto

the Company, while exercising the full authority of dewan, had been careful, in appearance at least, to keep the penal department of judicature under the Nabob; which was administered in his name by phousdars, deriving their authority from the naib, subah, or deputy nabob, appointed by the English. Against this arrangement, on which the order and protection of the country had long depended, the supreme court saw proper to turn the weight of its authority. One of the judges, Mr. Justice Hyde, declared publicly on the bench, that " the act of parliament did not consider Maborusk ul Dowla as a sovereign prince; that the jurisdiction of the court extended over all his dominions." Another, Mr. Justice Le Maistre, said, " With regard to this phantom, this man of straw, Maborusk ul Dowla, it is an insult on the understanding of the court to have made the question of his sovereignty. But it comes from the governor-general and council; I have too much respect for that body to treat it ludicrously, and I confess I cannot consider it seriously;" while a third, the chief-justice, treated the Nabob " as a mere empty name, without any real right, or the exercise of any power whatsoever*." Thus were the pretensions both of the Nabob and of the Company set aside by this newly-created jurisdiction, which, though nominally subsisting under the protection of the older authorities, absorbed all

* Letter of the Governor and Council to the Court of Directors, 15th of January, 1776.

the powers, without incurring the responsibility, of the government.

Justly alarmed by these impolitic proceedings, the governor and council protested warmly against them; and finding that their protests were treated with contempt, wrote to the authorities at home for instructions. In the meanwhile, the supreme court pursued its career of encroachment without hesitation or scruple. Assuming that they were placed in their present situation for the express purpose of shielding the natives from the tyranny of the Company's servants, the judges received with a greedy ear every complaint which was lodged, and carried on proceedings not only against the zemindars, but against the British functionaries themselves. Even the members of the supreme government were not regarded as exempt from the jurisdiction of the new tribunal. In direct defiance of the clause in the act which restricted the supreme court from hearing any indictment or information against the governor-general and members of council, both the governor and his colleagues were threatened with an action, because they had instructed their secretary to withhold certain papers, to the right of inspecting which the court chose to lay claim. Thus was an open breach made between the rival authorities, who continued during several years to wage a ceaseless war of encroachment and recrimination one against the other.

The limits of this history will not permit us

to enter much into detail relative to these transactions, but a single example of the court's mode of acting in each of the cases just referred to seems to be indispensable. The following account of the manner in which a decree of one of the provincial councils was overborne, may not prove uninteresting. We give it partly in the words of Mr. Mill, partly from a review of the original documents which that able historian had consulted.

"On the 2d of January, 1777, a suit was instituted before the provincial council at Patna. A person of some distinction and property, a native Mohammedan, died, leaving a widow and a nephew, who, for some time, had lived with him in the apparent capacity of heir and adopted son. The widow claimed the whole of the property, on the strength of a will, which, she affirmed, the husband had made in her favour. The nephew, who disputed the will, both on the suspicion of forgery, and on the fact of the mental imbecility of his uncle for some time previous to his death, claimed, in like manner, the whole of the estate, as adopted son and heir of the deceased."

Our readers are already aware that, to assist them in deciding such causes as might depend upon the principles of Mohammedan or Hindoo law, each council was supplied with a certain number of native law officers. In the present instance, the council of Patna deputed a cauzee and two muftees to take an account of the estate and effects of the deceased, to inquire into the

claims of the parties, to follow strictly the rules of Mohammedan law, and to draw up a report accordingly. "On the 20th of January," continues Mr. Mill, "the cauzee and muftees, having finished the inquiry, delivered their report, in which, after a statement of the evidence adduced, they declare their opinion that neither the widow nor the nephew had established their claims, and that the inheritance should be divided according to the principles provided by the Mohammedan law for those cases in which a man dies without children and without a will; in other words, that it should be divided into four shares, of which one should be given to the widow, and three to the brother of the deceased, who was next of kin and father of the nephew who claimed as next of kin. Upon a review of the proceedings of the native judges, and a hearing of the parties, the provincial council confirmed the decree, and ordered the division of the inheritance to be carried into effect. They did more; as it appeared from the evidence that part of the effects of the deceased had been secreted by the widow, before they could be secured by the judges, and that both the will and another deed which she produced were forged, they put her five principal agents under confinement till they should account for the goods, and directed that they should be afterwards delivered to the phousdary, to take their trial for forgery."

To the whole of these proceedings, from their commencement to their conclusion, the widow

had violently opposed herself. She refused to answer any charges, or to appoint a vakeel, or agent, to answer in her stead; and when the cauzee and muftees arrived to carry the decree of court into execution, she offered resistance. The cauzee and muftees, as their duty required, proceeded to enforce the orders under which they acted, upon which the widow fled to a convent of Fakeers hard by, carrying with her the title-deeds, and all the female slaves. One course only remained to be adopted. Such of the effects as fell into their possession the Mohammedan law officers divided into four parts, one of which was assigned to the widow, while the remainder were handed over, according to the court's decision, to the agent of the brother. But with this neither the widow nor the brother was satisfied. The former refused to accept her portion; the latter complained to the council that proper steps were not taken to recover the title-deeds, upon which the cauzee was reprimanded, and the customary measure of restricting the recusant from all intercourse with her friends was adopted. A guard of soldiers was placed over her, though at the end of six weeks, during which she still continued obstinate, they were withdrawn.

Such was the state of affairs, when the widow received advice to commence an action in the supreme court against the nephew, the cauzee, and the muftees. She did so, laying her damages at sixty-six thousand pounds; and the action, despite of an objection on the part of the

nephew to the court's jurisdiction, and the plea of the law officers, that they acted regularly in their judicial capacity, and in obedience to the lawful orders of their legal superiors, was maintained. It was to no purpose that the provincial council stood forward as having authorized every act of the cauzee and muftees. Because a maxim exists in English law, *Delegatus non potest delegare**, and because the provincial court was itself delegated by the governor and council, the court decreed that the complaints of the widow were well founded, and gave judgment against the defendants, with damages to the amount of thirty-five thousand pounds.

"At the commencement of the suit," says Mr. Mill, "a capias was granted with a bailable clause. A bailiff proceeded from Calcutta, and arrested at Patna the nephew and also the cauzee, as he was returning from attending his duty in one of the courts of justice. The bail demanded was four hundred thousand rupees, or about forty-four thousand pounds. The council of Patna, struck with consternation at the probable effects of so extraordinary a procedure upon the minds of the people, upon the authority of government, upon the collection of the revenue, and upon the administration of justice, which it threatened to stop, by deterring the native judges and lawyers from yielding their services, resolved, as the best expedient which the nature of the case afforded, to offer

* He who is delegated cannot delegate.

bail for the prisoners, who, after a confinement of some time in boats upon the river, were enlarged. The governor-general in council, as soon as they were informed of these proceedings, resolved, "That as the defendants are prosecuted for a regular and legal act of government, in the execution of a judicial decree, (except one of them, the nephew, the plaintiff in the suit before the dewanee adawlut at Patna, whose arrest is not for any apparent cause,) they be supported, and indemnified by government from all consequences from which they can be legally indemnified." Judgment being given, the defendants were put under a guard of sepoys, that they might be conveyed to Calcutta to be surrendered. The cauzee, an old man, who had been chief cauzee of the province for many years, was unable to endure the vexation and fatigue, and he expired by the way. The rest were carried to Calcutta, and lodged in the common gaol, where they remained till relieved by the interference of the British parliament in 1781. Nor did the matter end even here. An action was brought against Mr. Law and two other members of the provincial council at Patna, which the court likewise decided in favour of the plaintiff, with damages to the amount of fifteen thousand rupees."

While the supreme court thus rudely interfered with the administration of justice in the native civil courts, its mode of acting with reference to the criminal courts was not less arbi-

trary and unjustifiable. About the middle of the year 1777, an attorney of the supreme court, one of a host created by this new tribunal, took up his residence at Dacca. In the month of September of the same year, this attorney proceeded to execute a process of arrest, issued by one of the judges of the supreme court, against the dewan, or principal public officer of the phousdary, or native criminal court of Dacca. The process was issued at the suit of a man of the low rank of *payke*, or messenger, who had been convicted in the phousdary court of a misdemeanour, and imprisoned till he made restitution; and the action brought against the principal officer of the court was for trespass and false imprisonment in the execution of this decree. A native employed by the attorney as a bailiff proceeded to the house of the phousdar, entered the hall of audience where he was sitting with several of his friends and the chief officers of the court, and attempted, in a violent and disrespectful manner, to seize the person of his dewan, or principal agent. It is to be observed that in India every man considers an indignity offered to his servant as an insult put upon himself. No writ or warrant, moreover, seems to have been produced, and the bailiff was, in consequence, obstructed in performing the arrest. Information of these facts no sooner reached the attorney, than he hastened, at the head of an armed force, to the house of the phousdar. The doors were burst open, an act of violence

never attempted in the East except by an implacable enemy; and the crowd of attendants rushed in, polluting and defiling the sanctuary, which every honourable Mussulman will preserve with his life. The phousdar could not look tamely on at such an outrage; he endeavoured to repel force by force, and an affray ensued, in which he himself received a wound in the head, whilst his brother-in-law was shot through the body. Nothing can be more diametrically in opposition to every feeling of right among the people of India; yet Mr. Justice Hyde, after hearing the facts, caused it to be officially communicated to the attorney, " that he highly approved of his conduct, and doubted not that he would receive proper support from the court whose officer he was."

These were, indeed, violent inroads upon the established usages of the country, but they were a mere trifle when compared with the following attempt to overturn the whole system of fiscal management. On the 13th of August, 1779, a suit was commenced in the supreme court against the Rajah of Cossijurah, by Cossinaut Baboo, his agent at Calcutta. Upon the affidavit of Cossinaut a capias was ordered to issue, in which bail to the amount of thirty-five thousand pounds was allowed to be taken. The Rajah absconded to avoid the execution of the writ, and was unable to discharge his duty as zemindar in the management of the country and the collection of the revenues.

The writ of capias having been returned as unexecuted, on account of the concealment of the Rajah, another writ was issued to sequester his lands and effects. For the execution of this writ the sheriff dispatched to Cossijurah an armed force, consisting of sixty men, headed by a serjeant of the court. These broke into the Rajah's house, beat and wounded his servants, violated the apartments of his women, plundered his effects, and defiled his place of religious worship, by stripping it of its ornaments. But the boldest act of all remains yet to be recorded. The farmers and occupiers of land were prohibited from paying their rents, and a total stop was put to the collection of the public revenue.

It is not to be imagined that so many invasions of the rights both of private persons and public bodies were viewed by the supreme government with indifference. Repeated remonstrances had, on the contrary, been made, and repeated complaints sent home to the Court of Directors; but though the governor and council had declared a variety of proceedings to be illegal, they had not hitherto ventured openly to resist them: indeed, they had, on more than one occasion, paid the fines imposed upon individuals, whom they regarded as unjustly punished. Now, however, affairs having come, as it were, to an extremity, a new line of proceeding was adopted. The party which entered the Rajah's house were seized, a notification was issued to all zemindars, choudrees, and

talookdars in the three provinces, that, except in the two cases of being British servants, or bound by their own agreement, they were not to consider themselves subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court; and the provincial chiefs were prohibited from lending a military force to aid the court in carrying its mandates into effect.

No sooner was the supreme court made aware of the arrest of the sheriff's officer and his attendants, than a rule was granted to show cause why attachment should not issue against the Company's attorney and his officers. The officers weie instructed by the governor-general and council to resist the execution of any such writ. They obeyed these instructions, and escaped; but the attorney was committed to the common gaol of Calcutta, and a criminal prosecution carried on against him. Nor did the matter end here. The governor-general and council themselves were at last individually served with a summons to answer to Cossinaut Baboo in a plea of trespass. To this they paid, of course, no heed whatever, except by declaring that they would submit to no proceedings of the court in any prosecution against them as individuals for acts done by them as governor-general in council; but anarchy must have risen to a fearful height, when it became incumbent upon them to argue such a question, or to submit to such an insult.

Meanwhile the Court of Directors, who had approached the legislature on these subjects

at first with diffidence, began to assume a bolder and more becoming tone. They had long ago represented that every attempt to introduce into India the principles of English law was not more impolitic than unjust. They had complained bitterly, and with great reason, of the execution of Nuncomar for forgery, an offence of the commission of which serious doubts were entertained, but which, when committed, was not capital by the laws of the country. They had intreated the minister to consider what the consequences would be if this principle, and the example grounded upon it, were followed. "Can it be just," they continued, "or prudent, to introduce all the different species of felony created by what is called the *Black Act;* or to involve, as what is called the Coventry Act involves, offences of different degrees in one common punishment; or to introduce the endless and almost inexplicable distinctions by which certain acts are or are not burglary?" They asked whether Indian offenders of a certain description were to be transported to his Majesty's colonies in America, or sent to work upon the river Thames; and whether every man convicted for the first time of bigamy, "which is allowed, protected, nay almost commanded by their law, should be burned in the hand if he can read, and hanged if he cannot read." "These," they continued, "were only some of the consequences which we conceive must follow, if the criminal law of England be suffered to

remain in force upon the natives of Bengal. If it were legal to try, to convict, and execute Nuncomar for forgery, on the statute of George II., it must, as we conceive, be equally legal to try, convict, and to punish the Soubahdar of Bengal and all his court for bigamy, upon the statute of James I."

Similar in spirit, if somewhat different in terms, was the language adopted in the remonstrance of the Directors, relative to the interference of the supreme court in fiscal and civil affairs. They complained that the court had assumed a jurisdiction over persons to whom the legislature never designed it to extend. They asserted that the zemindars in the provinces were not only dragged to Calcutta without any plea of right on the part of the court, but that they suffered "every distress and oppression with which the attorneys of the court could contrive to distress and intimidate them." They represented that the supreme court interfered in a very mischievous manner "with the ordering, management, and government of the territorial revenues," including the powers which that ordering and government required; and that the legal courts, from the highest to the lowest, were paralysed, from an apprehension that their powers might be disputed, and their decrees annulled. All this they had done so early as the year 1777. They now came forward with a cause still more strong, to present two petitions, one from the principal British inhabitants in Bengal,

the other from the governor-general and members of the supreme council. These were immediately referred to a select committee, before which the counter statements of the chief-justice were likewise laid; but ere any decision could be given, Mr. Hastings fell upon an expedient, by which some at least of the grievances of which the petitioners complained were at once removed.

It will be borne in mind that, by the regulations of 1773, the civil department of native law was appointed to be administered by the provincial councils, sitting each as a dewanee adawlut, or court of civil judicature. On the 11th of April, 1780, it was arranged that the business of these courts should be divided; that a separate court, styled Dewanee Adawlut, should take cognizance of disputes between individuals; while the jurisdiction of the provincial council should be confined exclusively to questions affecting the revenue. The two tribunals, again, were severally composed of one covenanted servant of the Company, who, being neither a member of the provincial council, nor dependent on it, was called superintendent of the dewanee adawlut; and the reason assigned for the arrangement was, that the provincial councils might be exonerated from part of their burthens, and enjoy increased license for attending to the important business of the revenue.

The same regulations of 1773, which gave to the provincial councils their twofold juris-

diction, had appointed at the presidency a sudder dewanee adawlut, which, consisting of the governor-general and council, received and determined appeals from the provincial adawluts. No business whatever seems to have been done—notwithstanding the recorded conviction of Mr. Hastings, that, "if one half of the time of the court was devoted to it, its important duties would not be adequately discharged"—when, in the month of September, 1780, its constitution underwent a radical change. It was then that the governor-general introduced a minute in consultation, to the effect, that the arrangements effected a few months previously, relative to the inferior courts of civil law, called for important alterations in the constitution of the superior tribunal. "The constitution," said he, "of the new courts of dewanee adawlut has already given occasion to very troublesome and alarming competition between them and the provincial councils, and too much waste of time at this Board. It is the business of the sudder dewanee adawlut, not only to receive appeals from these courts, but to superintend their conduct, revise their proceedings, remedy their defects, and generally to devise such new regulations and checks as experience shall prove to be necessary to the purpose of their institution. It was impossible," he continued, "that the council of the supreme government could spare time for such duties;" and he accordingly proposed, that the constitution of the

sudder dewanee adawlut should be remodelled. In a word, he brought forward a motion, that to the chief justice of the King's Court the powers of the sudder dewanee adawlut should be transferred; that a salary should be annexed to the new office; and that both the salary and the office should be held under the authority, and at the pleasure, of the supreme government. The proposition met with violent opposition from two of Mr. Hastings's colleagues; but the governor contending that such an arrangement would form a bond of union between the council and the court, so as to prevent those dangerous consequences to the peace and resources of the government, which every member of the Board foreboded from the contests in which they had unfortunately been engaged, his reasoning at length prevailed. The assent of the chief justice was not withheld; and Sir Elijah Impey, with a salary of something more than 7000*l.* a year, entered at once upon the discharge of his novel functions.

It is not our business to scrutinize too closely the motives by which the contending parties in this arrangement were swayed. On the part of Mr. Hastings, indeed, one object, and one alone, could have been sought; namely, the removal, by any means, of those hinderances which had hitherto impeded the wheels of government, and brought the country into a state approaching to anarchy. How far the chief justice was, or was not, guided by views of

mere personal aggrandisement, our readers must judge for themselves. One fact at least is undeniable, that he and his brother judges, who, but a short time previously, had declared their inability, except by a positive dereliction of duty, even to moderate their proceedings, far less to abandon them, became, as if by the power of magic, the most docile of functionaries. The chief justice was no sooner installed as head of the civil judicature of the Company's dominions, than peace between the rival authorities was proclaimed; and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Justice Chambers to the Presidency of the court of justice at Chinsurah tended in no degree to renew the contests thus happily laid aside.

However satisfied with these arrangements the authorities at Calcutta might be, both the Directors and the legislature came to a decision, that they were not only injudicious, but positively illegal. Sir Elijah Impey, against whom many complaints lay, was in consequence recalled; and an act of parliament passed, to regulate anew the supreme court of judicature, and to deprive it of all excuse for interference in the general administration of the country. In the meanwhile, however, Mr. Hastings, supported and assisted by the chief justice in his new capacity, had introduced several important alterations into the mode of dispensing both civil and criminal justice to the natives. In the first place, the courts of dewanee adawlut were increased in number, from six to eighteen;

a measure highly important, in consequence of the great extent of jurisdiction entrusted to each. In the next place, the judges of these courts were vested with authority to apprehend delinquents found within the limits of their jurisdiction, and to give them over for trial or punishment to the phousdars. In the third place, a portion of the authority which they had been accustomed to exercise under the Moguls was restored to the zemindars; while, for general purposes of control, a new office was established at the Presidency, under the immediate superintendence of the governor-general, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Wheeler. To it, reports of proceedings, with lists of commitments and convictions, were required to be transmitted; and an officer, with the title of Remembrancer of the Criminal Courts, was appointed for the transaction of its affairs. All these innovations were introduced during the latter months of 1781 and the year 1782. In the month of November, however, of the last-mentioned year, Sir Elijah Impey ceased to act; and the governor-general and council, in obedience to positive orders received from home, resumed the jurisdiction of the sudder dewanee adawlut.

Of the changes in the revenue system, which kept pace with these alterations in the judicial machinery of the provinces, a few words will suffice to convey a sufficiently accurate idea. In the month of February, 1781, the business of the revenue at the presidency was trans-

ferred to a committee, which consisted of four covenanted servants of the Company, appointed by the governor-general. This done, the provincial councils were abolished, and their powers transferred wholly to the committee, which was required to transact all the current business of the revenue, and to lay a monthly report of its proceedings before the council. It was decreed, "that a majority of votes in the committee should determine all those points on which there should be a difference of opinion; that the record, however, of each dissentient opinion was not to be expected; that even upon a reference to the council, the execution of what the majority had determined should not be stayed, unless to the majority themselves the suspension appeared to be requisite; and that a commission on all sums paid monthly into the treasuries which remained under charge of the collectors, should be granted as the remuneration, according to certain proportions, of the members and their principal assistants." Finally, to the committee was entrusted the charge of drawing up a plan for the future assessment and collection of the revenues; and the following were the expedients of which they made choice. They recommended that an estimate be formed of the capabilities of the several districts from antecedent accounts, without recurring to local inspection and survey; that the revenues be leased, without any intermediate agents, to the zemindars, where the zemindaries might be of

sufficient extent; and that wherever the revenues were in the hands of a multitude of petty renters, they be let in the mass, upon annual contracts.

These matters were scarcely adjusted, when Mr. Hastings, in addition to the care of conducting hostilities against almost all the independent powers of India, found himself involved in a serious dispute with several tributary powers. The rajah of Benares, either encouraged by the aspect of things in other quarters to aim at emancipation from British superiority, or guided by the caprice which seems to have belonged to his disposition, not only refused to contribute his just proportion towards the extraordinary expenses of the war, but assumed a tone in his correspondence with the governor-general in the highest degree offensive and unbecoming. Such, at least, is the substance of the statements which Mr. Hastings has left upon record; and the time has, we believe, arrived, when the statements of that great man are viewed with other eyes than those of personal and political prejudice. Mr. Hastings, who had long meditated a journey into the upper provinces, conceived that the present would be a fitting moment for carrying his design into execution. He set out, slenderly guarded, it is true, but still attended by a force sufficient, as was conceived, to overcome any disposition to open rebellion. He reached Benares on the 14th of August, 1781, having been met by the rajah

with the appearance of profound respect and unreserved confidence; but on such protestations the governor-general was not disposed to rely. The rajah was placed in arrest, and a weak detachment of sepoys received orders to mount guard in the palace, in the room of his personal attendants. To all this the rajah submitted with such humility, making so many protestations of future good conduct, that Mr. Hastings began in some degree to alter his opinions, when it was suddenly reported that the people of Benares had risen upon the guard, and that hostilities had begun. There was too much truth in the rumour. The populace, roused to the highest pitch of fury, attacked the palace, and forcing their way within the courts, cut the British sepoys to pieces; the rajah, leaping from a window, escaped across the river; and the governor-general, with little more than six companies of infantry, saw himself isolated in a country everywhere hostile. Nevertheless, his presence of mind did not forsake him. He determined to act at once on the offensive, and gave directions that the fort of Ramnagur, a royal residence to which the rajah had retired, should be immediately attacked.

It unfortunately happened that the troops employed on this service were headed by an officer whose courage was more conspicuous than his discretion or his skill. They were led rashly forward through narrow streets and lanes, where a murderous fire of matchlocks

came upon them ; and their leader being killed, confusion ensued, and they retreated with some loss. Such a disaster, following immediately upon the destruction of the rajah's guard, gave fresh courage to the insurgents, and the flame of rebellion began to spread into other provinces. A large portion of Oude, instigated, as was believed, by two begums, or princesses, one the mother of the present nabob, the other the widow of Shujah Dowla, took arms in support of Cheyte Sing. Many of the zemindars in Bahar began likewise to exhibit symptoms of disaffection; and the governor-general soon received information of actual levies carried on in aid of the rebels. It was a trying moment, which called into play all the energy of Hastings's character. He secretly withdrew from Benares, shut himself up in the fortress of Chinar, and determined to await there the effect of pressing letters, which were, in great numbers, sent to the officers commanding stations more immediately within reach.

The whole of the surrounding country being in possession of the enemy, few, if any, of the messengers sent out by Mr. Hastings arrived at their places of destination. A vague rumour of what had occurred alone reached Colonel Mingan, the commandant of Cawnpore; and it was fortunate for the interests of British India that he possessed decision and promptitude enough to act upon it. He put his troops instantly in motion; and other stations

being likewise made aware of the necessity for co-operation, a respectable force was soon in the field. It was now too late for Cheyte Sing to send in letters of submission, with the most extravagant offers of money and other supplies. The honour of the British arms required that the disgrace with which they had been affected should be wiped out; and a war of extermination against the rajah was begun.

One or two trifling affairs, in some of which, however, the troops of the rajah behaved with great courage, brought this contest to a termination. Defeated in front of Patula on the 29th of August, Cheyte retired within the town, from whence he detached a portion of his best infantry for the maintenance of Sutteefpoor; but he was immediately attacked on both positions, and again routed. He fled next to Bidjapoor, which, however, on the rumoured advance of the British, he evacuated, leaving his wife, his mother, and all the other females of his family, to the mercy of the conquerors. Unfortunately, these did not escape such insults as soldiers, heated with victory, and greedy of plunder, are too apt to inflict. Their persons, indeed, escaped violation, but they were stripped of everything valuable that belonged to them.

Having thus chastised Cheyte Sing, and placed a grandson of Rajah Bulwaut Sing on the musnud, Mr. Hastings first of all introduced numerous changes into the internal administration of the affairs of the provinces,

and then proceeded to inflict punishment upon such other parties as had taken a share in the late seditious movements. Conspicuous among these were the begums, from whom a fine was demanded, which they declared that they did not possess the means of discharging. Our limits will not permit us to enter into any inquiry touching the justice either of the mode adopted to enforce obedience in this case, or of the line of conduct pursued by Mr. Hastings throughout the whole of his memorable tour. That he acted solely with a view to benefit his country, not even his worst enemies have ever denied; and that the most flagrant act of which he was guilty contradicted none of the established usages of India, every one acquainted with those usages is aware. It is true that a treaty existed which bound Cheyte Sing to the payment of a stipulated sum; and that Mr. Hastings, when the pressure of war began to be inordinately felt, made a demand upon his tributary for an increase of tribute. It is equally true that among European states this proceeding would be both iniquitous and unusual; but the practice was so universal in India, it had been so continually adhered to, and was everywhere so completely understood, that, in acting upon it, the governor-general laid himself open to no charge either of injustice or singularity. Cheyte Sing, on the other hand, by refusing to take his share in the burthens which pressed so heavily on the power that

protected him, showed himself little disposed to value such protection; and, according to universal precedent, became liable to the fate which eventually overtook him. In like manner, the idea of confining or putting to the torture the attendants of a prince, for the purpose of extracting from them information relative to their masters' resources, would, in the western quarter of the globe, be represented as a wanton and barbarous exercise of cruelty. The case is widely different in the east. There, ministers and servants are completely aware of their liability to such treatment: they may be said to accept office with a full conviction on their minds of the personal hazards attending it; and when it does overtake them, however grossly the eternal rule of right may be violated, that of custom suffers no contamination whatever. When, therefore, Mr. Hastings gave up the eunuchs of the begums to the cruelties of the vizier, he did no more than other chief rulers were in the habit of doing; while his resumption of the jaghires held by the princesses themselves was, upon the supposition of their guilt, perfectly justifiable. But the moment has not yet arrived for deciding positively upon the comparative innocence or guilt of Mr. Hastings's conduct in this matter. The statements hitherto laid before the public came, with few exceptions, from those who stood in enmity towards the subject of them, either on public or private grounds; and the heaviest

charge that was brought against him amounts only to this, that Mr. Hastings, to serve particular purposes, at a period of extraordinary difficulty, adopted, with too much readiness, the principle and practice of Indian government. While, therefore, we may question the wisdom of his choice of means, and while we feel ourselves compelled to speak, in a moral point of view, against many of their results, we cannot discover ground on which to rest an accusation that he was actuated by any base or selfish motives.

There is no denying that one great cause of the ruin of the begums was the inability of the nabob vizier to pay up the arrears of tribute due from him to the British government. It appeared to Mr. Hastings, that a resumption of the jaghires enjoyed by the princesses, as well as the exaction from them of a heavy fine, would enable him to make good his stipulated payments; and as these princesses were accused of a traitorous interference in the late commotions, an equitable plea for thus acting was afforded. We are not rightly informed how far the nabob entered voluntarily or reluctantly into the arrangement. While the system of compulsion was in progress, he expressed himself fully satisfied with the grounds upon which he acted; when the aspect of affairs changed, and the popularity of Mr. Hastings was on the wane, his manner of speaking and acting was different. But, however this may be, the jaghires were formally resumed, and a

body of troops despatched to Fyzebah, for the purpose of seizing the treasure. The troops met with some trifling resistance. They entered the castle by violence; but while, with the delicacy that belongs to their country, they abstained from violating the zenana, in which the treasure was understood to be laid up, they made prisoners of Jewar Ally Khan and Behar Ally Khan, two old eunuchs, the principal agents of the princesses, and threw them into prison. The sufferings of these men soon wrung from their mistresses the money so much coveted. Treasure to the amount of the arrears due by the vizier from 1779-80 was made over to the British resident, and the release of the captives demanded. But no heed was paid to the demand, for a greater supply was needed, and there were arrears due in the collections of 1780-81. It was to no purpose that the begums declared their inability to meet this requisition: their servants were detained, and, to the discredit of all concerned, put to the torture. At last, however, when even the torture was found to produce no effect, they were liberated, by the express command of Mr. Hastings, who became convinced, to his extreme mortification, that the funds of which he stood so much in need must be sought for elsewhere.

An account has been given in a former portion of this work of the unjustifiable destruction of the Rohilla nation, of which one chief only, by name the Nabob Fyzoolla

Khan, was permitted, under the sanction and guarantee of the English government, to hold in jaghire the country of Rampore, and certain districts adjacent. On his part again, a pledge had been tendered not only that he would maintain a moderate standing army, but that he would be ready, whenever called upon, to support the Company with such forces as could be collected. During the confusion and alarm incident upon the breaking out of the Mahratta war, a requisition was made, to which, either because it violated the spirit of his engagement, or that he was really incapable of meeting it, he refused to pay obedience. The state of the times was not such as to leave leisure for the exact calculation of right and wrong. A protest against his determination was entered on the books of the council, and a ready ear given to the vizier, who desired nothing so ardently as the permission of the British government to expel Fyzoolla Khan from his dominions. Fyzoolla Khan became alarmed when intelligence of these proceedings reached him. He used every effort to conciliate Major Palmer, the British agent; and at last proposed to advance fifteen lacs of rupees, as a compensation for all military service. As there was more need at the moment of money than of irregular troops, whose aid promised, at the best, to prove of doubtful utility, the proposal was accepted, and the ambitious projects of the vizier were for a time repressed.

Notwithstanding the success of this negotia-

tion, the scarcity of money continued to be severely felt at Calcutta, upon which demands were made from all quarters of British India, worn out by the exigencies of a tedious and disastrous war. To meet these demands, some great effort must be made; and Mr. Hastings, finding other expedients fail, resolved, if possible, to compel a payment of the whole debt due from the Nabob of Oude to the Company. It would prove a tedious as well as an uninteresting task, were we, in a work like the present, to describe one by one the various plans pursued for the attainment of this end. That they were all strictly justifiable, when viewed as isolated transactions, we are far from disposed to contend; and that numerous errors, even in politics, were committed while following them up, we are very willing to allow. There seems, for example, to be no good reason why the governor should have so long persisted in his refusal to restore to the begums their forfeited jaghires, seeing that the restoration was commanded by the Court of Directors, and solicited as a favour by the vizier. There appears, likewise, to have been as much of chicane as of fair dealing in the treatment both of the vizier's minister, and of Mr. Bristow, the British resident at his court. But it is scarcely fair to look to these matters with an eye of stern justice alone, abstracting our gaze altogether from the necessities of the times, to which they were, in a great degree, owing. Once more, therefore, are we compelled to admit

that the objects of the governor-general were throughout patriotic and noble; though we can not but question both the wisdom and the rectitude of many of the means adopted for their attainment.

The relative positions of the viceroyalty of Oude and of the British empire in India were of this nature. By the treaty of Fyzabad, concluded with the nabob, Vizier Assoof ud Dowla, in the year 1775, the Company obtained possession of Benares, Ghozepore, and Chimar; when it was stipulated that a regular brigade of their troops should be stationed in the territories of the nabob, for the defence of the Soubah, of Oude, Corah, and Allahabad. For the maintenance of this corps, so long as it should be stationed with him, the nabob agreed to pay the monthly sum of two lacs, sixty thousand rupees; and it was further arranged, that, should he require additional aid in defending other countries besides those specified, a sum should be fixed, at the period of the requisition, proportionate to the value and expense of the service. Not long after this treaty had been concluded, the Nabob applied for the assistance of a body of English officers, sufficient for the formation and command of six battalions of infantry, a corps of artillery, and a proportion of cavalry. The force in question was raised, as his highness stated, for the purpose of keeping in check the rest of his army, and he pledged himself that funds should never be wanting to cover the expenses attending its

maintenance. Its formation, likewise, was entrusted entirely to the English government; and in 1777, being incorporated with the Company's army, it received the appellation of the temporary brigade, and was stationed at Furruckabad.

Within the short space of two years from the completion of this arrangement, the nabob began to discover that the revenues of his principality were not sufficient to defray the cost of the new corps. He accordingly desired, somewhat abruptly, that it should be disbanded, at the same time that he made a tender of something less than one-half of the money due from himself to the Company. To the request just specified, a peremptory refusal was given, and his highness was explicitly assured, that the full amount of his arrears would be required of him. Various subterfuges were of course adopted to evade a compliance with these requisitions; but Mr. Hastings continuing firm, the nabob in the end gave way, and his debts increased in amouut from month to month. At last the rebellion of Cheyte Sing occurred, the nabob's services during which induced the governor-general to receive with a better feeling his entreaties for remission. Having, with some difficulty, obtained the sanction of his council, Mr. Hastings undertook a journey to Lucknow, where he held more than one confidential conference with the nabob; and the result was, that a considerable portion of the arrears were paid up, while the temporary brigade was withdrawn within the Company's territory.

Meanwhile the seeds of fresh disagreement between the supreme government and that of Madras were industriously sown by certain designing individuals. It has been stated, that, as a last expedient for the procuring of funds with which to carry on the war against Hyder, the Nabob, Mahomed Ally, had been persuaded to make an assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic to the Company; and that of the measure in question, though effected after a fashion not altogether regular, Lord Macartney had promptly availed himself. Such, however, was the exhausted condition of the country, that for some time the collections scarcely repaid the expenses attending them; and the supreme government continued to be harassed with frequent demands for pecuniary assistance. There were about the person of the nabob three aspiring individuals, his second son, Ameer ul Omrah, and an Englishman called Benfield, who took advantage of this circumstance to further their own views. These prevailed upon the prince to solicit earnestly a restoration of his abandoned rights; and they persuaded him to state in his memorial, that the revenues were unproductive only because of the incapacity of the governor, who possessed neither knowledge nor influence enough to realize them. It must be confessed, that to complaints brought against Lord Macartney, Mr. Hastings was too apt to lend a favourable hearing. After examining witnesses, who made out, as was to be expected, their own case, the supreme govern-

ment issued instructions for the restoration of the revenue affairs of the Carnatic to their old footing; and though there arrived soon afterwards despatches from London, approving in the strongest terms of the late arrangements, even in the face of these, the command was repeated. Lord Macartney, however, took a different view of the subject from that entertained at Calcutta, and, with a degree of firmness scarcely to be expected in a subordinate functionary, refused to obey the edict. Of the consequences which might have ensued, had not other matters occurred to draw off the attention of the contending parties, it is not easy to speak; but ere time was afforded to bring the dispute to a crisis, Mr. Hastings had resigned his government. He laid down the ensigns of his office on the 8th of February, 1785, and immediately returned to England.

The motives which restrained us from entering too much into detail relative to particular acts of Mr. Hastings's government, operate with unabated force in keeping back any elaborate delineation, on our part, of his general character as a statesman. Faults he doubtless committed —many and grievous faults; foremost among which may be ranked his too close adherence, on all occasions, to the spirit of Indian policy. But these sink into nothing when they are brought fairly into comparison with the extraordinary displays of talent which his career exhibits at every stage. "From its commencement till its termination," says a high autho-

rity, "his government was marked by events of uncommon magnitude, which ultimately gave rise to a discussion, that not only diffused a more general knowledge of Indian affairs, but awakened the British nation to a just sense of the importance of its interests in India." "Whatever may have been the opinion of contending parties and factions at this period," continues the same author, "there are some leading facts relating to this part of Indian history, upon which all dispassionate minds are now agreed. It is admitted even by those who condemned part of his conduct, that Mr. Hastings, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have received support, showed all the active energy of a great statesman, and, by his spirited and extraordinary exertions, saved the interests of his country in India from the ruin with which they were threatened, and in which they would have undoubtedly been involved, had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius, he d the reins of government. This is his praise, and no man could wish higher." With respect, again, to the accusations brought with so much acrimony against his personal honour and integrity, they are now treated as they deserve in all well-informed circles. He who returned from India in comparative poverty, after many years of service in the highest stations, needs no advocate to defend him from the charge of venality and corruption; while the man whose

departure from the seat of his power was lamented equally by Europeans and natives, stands on ground too elevated to incur even the accusation of tyranny.

CHAPTER II.

Legislative proceedings relative to the affairs of India—Mr. Dundas's Bill—Mr. Fox's Bill—Mr. Pitt's Bill.

While the local government was thus administered, a variety of events befell at home, each of which bore, with a greater or less degree of weight, upon the fortunes of the Anglo-Indian empire. In the first place, the extended jurisdiction given by the act of 1773 to the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, having been found to produce effects highly mischievous to the public interests, was restricted, by a subsequent act, passed in 1781, to the town and suburbs of Calcutta. In the next place, as the peculiar privileges granted to the Company were to terminate, after due notice, at the end of three years, from 1780, strenuous efforts were made, by the minister on the one hand, and the Directors on the other, to derive from the fresh agreement which each party anticipated the greatest possible advantages. Lord North, on the part of the crown, asserting a right to all territory acquired by British subjects, was disposed to claim, as the property of the public, the whole of the Company's conquests; while the Company, rendered more

than usually bold by the circumstances of the times, affirmed that they were entitled to retain what their own arms and their own treasure had acquired. In like manner, a considerable difference of opinion prevailed as to the proportion of the proceeds from the Indian territory which the Company should make over for the benefit of the nation. The Company, having reduced their home debt to the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, were willing, indeed, to continue their original yearly payment of four hundred thousand pounds, but desired, naturally enough, to devote whatever increase of revenue might accrue to the benefit of their own body; whereas the minister seemed disposed to suspend the renewal of the charter, upon the condition that this payment should be increased. The consequence was that, the Directors declining to petition, an act was passed in 1779, continuing to them their advantages for one year only—a boon which the Company accepted without gratitude, as a proof of the weakness rather than of the good will of the government.

It is not worth while to fill our pages with any account either of the abortive attempt made by Lord North to introduce a variety of changes into the form of the Indian government, or of the compromise which was finally arranged between his Lordship and the Directors. Enough is done when we state, that, in 1781, an extension of the Company's privileges was granted, till three years notice after the month of March,

1791; that the Company was permitted to pay out of their clear profits a dividend of eight per cent. per annum on the capital stock, and of the overplus, three-fourths to the public, reserving the remainder for their own use; and that the claims with respect to the territory, set up both by the Crown and the Company, were declared to remain unaffected by the present act. It was, however, ordered, that the Directors should submit to his majesty's ministers all dispatches which they might send to India, relative to the revenues and civil and military affairs of the Company; and that in all matters relating to war and peace, as well as in their transactions generally with other powers, they should be guided by the instructions which ministers might deem it expedient to issue.

In the month of March, 1782, Lord North retired from office, and was succeeded, as First Lord of the Treasury, by the Marquis of Rockingham. Little occurred during the brief existence of this administration beyond one or two motions, on the part of Mr. Dundas, touching the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Hastings, and other public functionaries. These had for their object an inquiry into the state of India, not less than the condemnation of the individuals by whom the affairs of India were guided. But ere any results could arise out of them, the Marquis of Rockingham died, and a new administration, having the Earl of Shelburne at its head, was appointed. Lord

Shelburne's administration, however, was neither more permanent nor more efficient than that of Lord Rockingham. On the 5th of April, 1783, the famous coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox was declared; and a new ministry, under the auspices of these distinguished statesmen, was immediately formed.

While such changes went on, Mr. Dundas was unremitting in his exertions to draw into the notice both of parliament and of the public the condition of British India. He was ably, if somewhat vindictively, assisted by Mr. Burke; and both received the powerful support of Mr. Pitt, whose opposition to the measures of his great rival proved not less pertinacious than embarrassing. On the 14th of April, 1783, Mr. Dundas introduced a bill into the House of Commons, of the design of which the following may be taken as an outline. It was proposed, "that the king should have a power of recall over the principal servants of the Company; that the governor-general and council of Bengal should have a controlling power over the other presidencies; and that the governor-general should have a power of acting, on his own responsibility, in opposition to the opinion of this council; that the governors at the other presidencies should not have a power of originating any measure contrary to the wishes of their councils; but that they should be authorized to suspend their actions by a negative, till the opinion of the controlling presidency should be known; that the displaced zemindars

should be restored to their former condition; and that the rajah of Tanjore should be secured in all his present possessions." "The principle of this bill," says Sir John Malcolm, "was generally approved. It was allowed that a more efficient and energetic local government was required; and that a responsibility more defined and more operative on all parties than that established by the act of 1773, was indispensable to correct the gross abuses of the existing system. But there was a wide difference of opinion in the House of Commons regarding the nature of the checks which it might be expedient to fix over the controlling powers which it went to establish." A great deal of opposition was, in consequence, offered to the measure; and Mr. Dundas in the end withdrew his bill.

In the month of November, a new parliament met, before the notice of which Mr. Fox was not slow in bringing his own plan for the administration of the affairs of India. The plan in question he divided into two parts, introducing for each a separate bill, of which one had reference to the governing power at home, and the other to the governing power abroad. With respect to the former of these, it was proposed that the authority now vested in the Courts of Directors and Proprietors be transferred for the space of four years to seven commissioners named in the act; to aid whom, nine assistant commissioners, likewise named in the act, were to be selected from proprietors holding

at least two thousand pounds stock. To the first of these bodies, namely, the parliamentary commissioners, was to be intrusted the entire political administration of India. They were to manage all matters of revenue, territory, and commerce; they were to have the sole right of placing and displacing all persons in the service of the Company, whether at home or abroad. As they were appointed by the legislature, so were they removable only by the king on an address from either house of parliament; while any vacancy that might, from time to time, occur in their numbers, was to be supplied by the crown. To the body of assistant commissioners, again, was committed the management of the details of commerce alone. They were, moreover, to consider themselves subject to the orders of the higher board; and though elected by the proprietors voting by ballot, they were removable only, upon due representation, by the king. Thus, in point of fact, was the whole authority over India transferred to the minister; and the courts, which had heretofore acted as agents for the body of proprietors, were set aside.

The principle of the bill, again, which was designed to regulate the administration of affairs abroad, stood in all respects opposed to the project brought forward by Mr. Dundas. It declared that the authority of the governor-general in council should on no occasion be delegated to such governor alone, nor to any person or persons whatever, apart from the council itself.

It required that no correspondence should be carried on by the governors to which the members of the councils should not have free access. It stipulated that the governor-general should not declare war against any native prince, nor enter his territories with an armed force, unless upon intelligence, the credibility of which should be admitted by each member of the council individually, that such prince was about to act in hostility against the Company; and it forbade all offensive alliances for the sharing of any country between the Company and a native prince, as well as the hiring out of troops, whether European or native, except with the explicit sanction of the parliamentary commissioners. These, with sundry clauses relative to patronage, to the leasing of revenues, to the acceptance of presents, and the abolition of monopolies, made up the leading provisions of Mr. Fox's bill; which, though passed by a large majority in the House of Commons, was rejected, as is well known, in the House of Lords.

It is not worth while to inquire very closely into the merits of a scheme which was not only never brought to bear, but the attempt to realize which led to a fresh change in his Majesty's councils. Something there was in it doubtless deserving of praise, though even that was too much clouded by prejudice and party spirit; but for the most part it must be confessed that it exhibited a sad deficiency of correct and complete information, as well as a disposition to legislate without any regard to the actual

state of India. In the temporary clamour which was raised against the substitution of parliamentary commissioners in the room of the courts established by ancient charter, we are not, perhaps, disposed absolutely to join. That the measure, if carried, would have added greatly to the influence of the minister, cannot, indeed, be doubted; but that the arrangement was proposed by Mr. Fox, with a view solely to perpetuate his own power, we apprehend that no sensible person will now contend. It was not, however, in its reorganization of the home government so much as in the form sought to be given to the governments abroad, that the bill under review was faulty. The ruling power in India laboured, by its very constitution, under too many checks already, and Mr. Fox's bill, so far from diminishing these, tended only to increase them. Nor were there wanting other and equally glaring blunders in the use of terms, relative to the zemindars and other classes of natives, such as ought never to have been applied to them; but of these we will not pause to take notice. Mr. Fox failed in carrying his measure, and, the seals of office having been withdrawn from him and his party, Mr. Pitt was commanded to form a new administration.

Among the cares of office which devolved upon the youthful premier there was none more pressing or more important than the providing a permanent and judicious system of government for British India. Of this fact Mr. Pitt seems to have been fully aware, for he lost no

time in bringing forward a bill, which, on the 13th of August, 1784, received the royal assent, and passed into a law. The law in question was, indeed, modified and explained by the subsequent acts of 1786, 1788, and 1793, several changes of lesser moment being introduced; but the groundwork of that system, by which the affairs of India continued, till of late, to be administered, was laid in 1784, nor did it, in spite of the bill of 1813, undergo any material alteration for nearly forty years. Of that system, the following sketch will convey to the minds of our readers a sufficiently accurate idea.

The affairs of India are managed at home partly by the ministry, through the instrumentality of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, otherwise called the Board of Control, partly by the Court of Directors, and partly by a court, or general meeting, of proprietors. The influence of the latter body, from among whom, and by whose votes, vacancies in the direction are filled up, may be characterized as negative, rather than positive. They possess no right of dictating, nor even of originating any measure, whether commercial or political; nevertheless, every act, both of the Directors and of their servants abroad, which may affect, or appear to affect, the interests of the Company, lies open, after it has taken place, to investigation by the court*.

* It was, however, enacted, that no proceeding of the Court of Directors, which had received the appro-

This privilege necessarily enables their debates to assume a wide and useful range; while the necessity which exists of obtaining their confirmation to all pecuniary grants above a trifling value, gives to their wishes generally prodigious importance. The chief error in their constitution appears to consist in the right of a minority, after a question has been discussed and carried in open court, to demand a ballot, under cover of which all proprietors, whatever be their sex or condition, are entitled to vote. This, in a body intrusted with important public duties, can hardly fail of producing the worst effects, for the usage of secret ballot, wherever practised, removes all sense of personal responsibility, the very best restraint that can be imposed upon any deliberative assembly. Nevertheless, the Court of Proprietors composes no unimportant branch of the Anglo-Indian government. "Its utility," says Sir John Malcolm, "as a check upon the abuse of power should be calculated, like other parts of our free constitution, less with reference to what they do, than what they prevent others from doing. A great majority of the proprietors stands alike independent of ministers and the Court of Directors, and this position gives them much value as a branch of Indian legislature."

The business of the Board of Control, which, by the original act of 1784, was intrusted to

bation of the Board of Control, should be annulled, or any way affected by the Court of Proprietors.

six privy councillors, with one secretary of state for the time being as president, is now conducted by a president, two members, and a secretary*, each of whom receives a liberal salary, and is presumed to devote his undivided attention to the details of his office. It is the province of this Board to check, control, and superintend all civil, military, and revenue affairs of the Company. In matters of trade, the Board of Control takes, indeed, little or no concern, but every despatch from the India-house, having reference to the subjects specified in the preceding sentence, must receive the sanction of the Board before it can be forwarded. Again, in all cases of political negotiation with native powers, involving questions of peace and war, and requiring secrecy, the Board of Control, on which the entire responsibility rests, is empowered by law to frame despatches, which are transmitted to India, not directly from the Board itself, but through what is called the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The Board of Control is divided into departments, such as the revenue, the judicial, the military, and the political, to each of which an establishment of clerks is assigned, who carry on the details of business within their respective spheres under the general superintendence of the president and commissioners.

* There are other nominal members of the Board of Control, but by these, who alone receive pecuniary remuneration, all the business is understood to be transacted.

Into the constitution of the Court of Directors few changes of any moment were introduced. It was required to consist, as heretofore, of twenty-four members, six of whom were to be elected annually in the room of six who, having served four years, should retire, and become ineligible to re-election till after they had been one year out of office. With respect to its internal arrangements, these, with one solitary exception, remained as they were at the period of Earl Godolphin's award, and the junction of the rival companies. The court divides itself into committees, which undertake each a separate portion of public business, and the divisions continue to be made with reference rather to seniority in the direction, than to the qualifications or fitness of individuals. From among the senior members of the body, for example, the chairman and deputy chairman have all along been chosen, who, with the Directors next in point of seniority to themselves, constitute the Committee of Secrecy, while the Committees of Correspondence, the most important, perhaps, of the whole, consist of eleven of the senior Directors, the chairman being officially included. With this committee almost every measure of real importance originates, the rest devoting their time, as they have long done, to the details of commerce, and to the matters arising out of them.

To the Court of Directors is granted the important privilege of nominating, subject to his Majesty's approval, to all the chief civil and

military situations in India. In case, however, they should neglect to fill up a vacancy within two calendar months after such vacancy has been notified to them, then is the right of nomination assumed by the king, and over the party so nominated the court possesses no power, even of recall. All minor appointments, such as cadetships, writerships, &c., are in the gift of the Directors, except a certain number to which the members of the Board of Control lay claim. Thus, though subject to the controlling influence of the king's government, the Court of Directors continue to be the executive body of the East India Company, while the chairmen are still, what they have always been, the organs of the court itself.

From the preceding sketch it will be seen that the Board of Control and Court of Directors are so constituted as to act, in some measure, as checks and balances, the one towards the other. It is true that, theoretically considered, the authority of the former body is paramount; because, though the right of originating despatches is, in ordinary cases, intrusted to the Court of Directors, the despatches themselves, if relating to any political or financial arrangement, cannot be forwarded till they have undergone the scrutiny and revision of the Board of Control. In like manner the power of altering such despatches, till scarce a sentence of the original document remains, is vested in the Board; nor, in the secret department at least, is a remonstrance permitted against

the tenor of the Board's instructions. Nevertheless, the very consciousness that he stands not alone—that there is an authority to be consulted besides his own, can hardly fail of operating as a restraint upon the caprice of the minister, should he be disposed to act capriciously in his dealings towards the Company or their subjects. Besides, the minister is aware that his conduct, in this as in other respects, lies open to the investigation of parliament, before which the Company is required to lay, year by year, a statement of their circumstances; while to public opinion, that indescribable but most efficient of all restraints upon the behaviour of public men, the party whose rights are in danger of violation may safely look for support. It is unjust, therefore, to contend that, in point of fact, the affairs of the Company are managed entirely by the Board of Control; or to attribute to the influence of that Board every improvement which, within the last quarter of a century, has confessedly taken place in Indian administration. In the exercise of all with which it has hitherto been intrusted, the Board has acted under a restraint as great as it has imposed, for the Court of Directors, rendered jealous or vigilant by the perception of their diminished authority, have scrutinized all its acts with a closeness which has rendered them a very efficacious check upon the abuse of power or influence.

But though we thus express ourselves, and though we freely grant that the machinery in-

troduced by Mr. Pitt's bill into the framework of Indian government, has, upon the whole, worked well, we are very far from desiring it to be understood that we regard the machine as absolutely incapable of improvement. There are many and serious evils in the construction of the courts, on the judgment and discretion of which the welfare of British India may be said to depend. With respect to the Board of Control, we have already shown that its actual duties are discharged, or are supposed to be discharged, by a president, a secretary, who is permanent, and two paid commissioners. Now, as the appointment to these offices, though nominally in the gift of the crown, is, like the crown's other gifts of nomination, really in the hands of the ministers, it is not going too far to affirm, that they will, at all times, be filled up rather by individuals who support the general politics of the minister for the time being, than by men whose acquaintance with the condition of India, and the measures necessary for its proper management, renders them peculiarly competent to discharge the trust. Again, the office of president of the Board of Control, though frequently held by men of high personal distinction, has not hitherto been accounted as among the most eminent in his Majesty's cabinet. The consequence is, that few have held it a sufficient length of time for the attainment of the experience requisite to the discharge of its momentous duties; for, brilliant as the talents of Mr. Dundas, Mr. Canning, and Mr.

Tierney may have been, even they possessed not the faculty of acquiring knowledge by intuition. The same thing may be said relative to the positions of the secretary and the active commissioners. Owing to accidental circumstances, it is, indeed, true that changes have occurred less frequently here than in the higher office of president; but the liability to change has been in all cases the same, and it has necessarily operated in all after a fashion not favourable to the interests of British India. When men feel that their continuance in a situation of trust, indeed, but of great labour, depends upon the continuance in power of the king's ministers, they will be very apt not to overload themselves with trouble, but will leave, as has been too much the case, the care of inquiring into facts to their subordinate clerks. We do not hesitate to say, that these effects did, for many years, follow their natural causes; and if the case be different now, the change is owing, in a very great degree, to the praiseworthy exertions of one man*.

The objections which present themselves to the constitution of the Court of Directors, as described in a preceding paragraph, are so obvious, that we consider it unnecessary to allude to them, except very briefly. The extreme attention paid by that body to ancient usages; its elaborate division into committees, the business intrusted to each of which is ad-

* James Cuming, Esq., late at the head of the revenue and judicial department in the Board of Control.

judged, not according to fitness, but to seniority—these are the causes which operate, and which, while they last, must operate, in rendering the court less capable than it might be of administering aright the affairs of a great empire. Let it be borne in mind, that all transactions of importance, all matters relating to the politics of India, are managed by the Committee of Correspondence. Now, as a man must have been in the direction eleven years before he is of sufficient standing to be chosen a member of that committee, and as his whole employment during the progress of these eleven years consists in the management of trifling details, in superintending commercial arrangements, looking to invoices, &c., some idea may be formed how far he will be qualified at the close to conduct the government of such an empire as India, and to unravel the intricacies in which its entire administration is wrapped up. Nor is it only because his mind has been permitted to rust during eleven long years, that the new member of the Committee of Correspondence will endeavour to rouse it into action under very unfavourable circumstances. Whatever his knowledge of Indian subjects may have been when he first entered the direction, he will find himself now almost as much in the dark as if he had never given to such subjects one hour's attention, inasmuch as a change of circumstances will have rendered his plans, however excellent when originally devised, if not positively mischievous, at all events uncalled

for, perhaps impracticable. It appears, then, that with much to demand our approval, the executive of the East India Company presents some gross imperfections in the outline of its construction. As, however, these are discoverable by the most inattentive eye, so are the means of removing them easy of attainment; there needs but a deviation from the established rule of advancement by seniority, to supply each committee with members well qualified for the particular stations which, by the common voice of the body, shall be allotted to them.

In addition to these enactments, the bill of 1784 contained a clause which rendered every servant of the Company liable to examination upon oath, touching the amount of property brought by him from India to the mother-country. A new tribunal was, at the same time, erected for the trial of British subjects accused of "extortion and other misdemeanors, while holding offices in the service of the king or Company in India;" and the judges presiding were authorised to collect evidence by commission on the spot where the alleged crimes were supposed to have been perpetrated.

Such are some of the most important of the measures adopted to remedy the evils which were understood to have previously encumbered the whole of the Company's government at home. Of those which had reference to the local administration, no elaborate description is necessary. A general control was given to the government of Bengal over the other

governments of Madras and Bombay, in all matters both of domestic arrangement and foreign policy. The supreme authority at Bengal was committed to the care of a governor-general and three councillors*, of whom the commander of the forces was one; in the subordinate presidencies it was administered by a body constructed after a similar model. In extreme cases, the governor-general was permitted to act in opposition to the will of his council. As often as this occurred, he, of course, took upon himself the undivided responsibility of the deed; but, on ordinary occasions, he was allowed no more than a casting vote, should such be needed. Aggressive wars were prohibited, as detrimental to the interests of the Company; the acceptance of presents was forbidden; an implicit obedience to orders received from home was required. The authorities, moreover, were instructed to restore the displaced zemindars, and, as far as might be practicable, to render their situations permanent; while the questions arising out of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and his disputes with the Rajah of

* It was enacted that, on the demise or resignation of the governor or governor-general, the next in council should assume the vacant dignity. The commander-in-chief was alone excepted, though the Court of Directors might, at their pleasure, nominate the same individual to the double office of commander-in-chief and governor-general. In the event of the governor-general visiting a subordinate presidency, the governor of that presidency sank for a time into the rank of a councillor.

Tanjore, were to be taken into consideration by the Directors. To these were in due time added, at Fort St. George and Bombay, courts of judicature, similar in their composition and powers to the supreme court at Calcutta; after which the scheme of Indian government was complete.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Hastings succeeded by Mr. Macpherson—Lord Cornwallis—Affairs of Oude—Alliance with the Nizam—Tippoo threatens Travancore—Treaty with the Nizam and the Mahrattas—The lines carried by assault—First campaign against Tippoo.

It was stated some time ago, that, early in the spring of 1785, Mr. Hastings resigned the office of governor-general, and embarked for his native country. Of the reception which met him there, it accords not with the plan of this work to say more than that seldom has a public functionary been so requited for long years of brilliant and laborious service. Persecuted by a party which possessed influence enough to enlist upon its side the feelings and prejudices of the multitude, the whole tenor of his political life underwent a merciless scrutiny; and though acquitted at last of all intentional error, both his fortune and his health fell a sacrifice to the rancour with which his trial had been conducted.

Mr. Hastings was succeeded in the chief management of affairs at Bengal by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, the senior member of council. That gentleman held the reins

of government for a space of eighteen months only, during which there occurred few events calculated immediately to affect the interests of our Anglo-Indian empire. According to his own account, indeed, "the public distress was never so pressing" as at the particular moment of his assumption of office, "when the close of a ruinous war, and the relaxed habits of their service, had left all the Company's armies in arrear, and their presidencies in disorder." But language such as this, at the best vague and indefinite, has been employed too frequently not to be received from a new governor with a good deal of caution.

The matters which advanced strongest claims upon the attention of Mr. Macpherson were, the adjustment of the revenue accounts, the arrangement of the affairs of Oude, and the progress of the Mahrattas, under Mahadjee Scindiah, towards supreme power in Hindostan. In the first of these it does not appear that the new governor either made, or endeavoured to make, any great progress. Doubtless, the duration of his authority was not sufficiently extended to permit the formation of any novel plan, far less its execution; but we are without any authority for believing that the possibility of drawing up such a plan was ever contemplated. He contented himself with bringing charges of extravagance and prodigality against his predecessor, while he himself persisted in treading the very path which his predecessor had marked out.

With respect, again, to the settlement of the affairs of Oude, little else was effected besides carrying into execution so much of Mr. Hastings' schemes as the circumstances of the times would permit. Orders were issued that no allowance or gratuity should be accepted by any of the Company's servants; while accounts were henceforth to be recorded by the council, and transmitted home for the examination of the Court of Directors. In like manner, the last-raised auxiliary force which Mr. Hastings had consented to disband, was dissolved, and the treasury of the nabob lightened of a considerable load; but the condition of the neighbouring provinces was not such as to authorise any further reductions. On the contrary, the vizier soon found himself called upon to recruit his own cavalry to a large amount; a measure to which the British agents left at his court gave their full sanction.

We have spoken elsewhere of the advantage taken by the Mahrattas of the death of Nujeef Khan, and of the scenes of anarchy and horror in Delhi and the provinces around, to which that catastrophe led the way. It was in the year 1784, while Mr. Hastings still sat at the helm of government, that Scindiah obtained from Shah Alum the dignity of *vakeel muttullisk*, or sole director of the empire for the peshwah; securing at the same time to himself the deputation of that employment. By this arrangement the Mahratta entered at

once upon the chief command of the imperial armies; nor did any great while elapse ere he made himself completely master of the provinces of Delhi and Agra. From the language employed by Mr. Hastings with reference to these transactions, it is very evident that, from the first, he had not beheld them without alarm. Unwilling he certainly was to involve the Company in a fresh war; and he instructed his agents, in consequence, to profess a perfect reliance in the honour and moderation of Scindiah; but he ceased not to urge upon his council the necessity of supporting the Mogul at all hazards, and against every enemy. In this design, however, as in many others, Mr. Hastings was thwarted; and Scindiah pressed on like a torrent, till a large portion of Hindostan Proper owned his sway. It was now that the consequences of a moderation so ill-timed began to be felt. Not only was it necessary to burden the Nabob of Oude with expenses which his exhausted treasury could ill afford, but the tone assumed by Scindiah, not less than his actions, appeared to indicate that, between war and submission to his caprices, a choice must speedily be made. Having received Cheyte Sing, the exiled Rajah of Benares, into his service, and given open protection to other enemies of the Company, Scindiah advanced a claim to choute over the British possessions in Bengal, which, though peremptorily refused, and not for the present renewed, excited serious uneasiness in the

minds of the authorities at Calcutta. How far other measures besides those of remonstrance might have been adopted to check the growing insolence of the Mahrattas, it were difficult to say; but before such were seriously contemplated, a successor to Mr. Macpherson arrived, and the interest attaching to Indian politics was directed into another channel.

The changes, of which an account has been just given in the system of Indian government, were no sooner determined upon than a nobleman was selected for the purpose of carrying them into effect, of whose integrity, sound discretion, and firmness no doubt could be entertained. The nobleman in question was Lord Cornwallis, who, in the month of September, 1786, arrived at Calcutta, bringing with him an extensive code of instructions, both from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. Upon these, as far as the varying circumstances of the times would allow, he proceeded at once to act, and the issues arising out of his operations have proved the most important of any by which British India has as yet been effected.

The first of his Lordship's measures was to come to an explicit understanding with the Nabob of Oude, both as to the defence of his territories and the amount of his payments. The former he took entirely upon himself, as the head of the British empire in India; the latter he restricted to the sum of fifty lacs of rupees annually, which were accepted as an

equivalent both for tribute and the charges of a subsidiary force. All right of interference in the internal administration of affairs was, however, disavowed. "We," says the governor-general, in one of his despatches, "undertake the defence of his country; in return he agrees to defray the real expenses incurred by an engagement of so much value to himself, and the internal administration of his affairs is left to his exclusive management."

Having adjusted this point, the governor-general prepared to demand the surrender of the Guntoor Circar, of which, since the death of Basalut-jing in 1782, the Nizam had, in defiance of established treaties, retained possession. For some time, however, apprehensions of a war with France, and the dread of forcing the Nizam into close alliance with Tippoo, rendered the Bengal government cautious; but the former calamity was no sooner shown to be remote, than a more vigorous policy was adopted. Troops having been moved in the direction of the contested province, Captain Kennaway, an officer of talent and address, was established as resident at Hyderabad, and the Nizam, whom the unfortunate result of a recent contest with Tippoo rendered more than usually docile, was easily prevailed upon to comply with the wishes of the English. He took, however, the precaution to obtain a renewal, or, to speak more accurately, an extension of the treaty of 1768, as the price of his compliance with Lord Corn-

wallis's designs. It was accordingly settled that, whenever the necessities of the Nizam should demand the measure, he should be supplied by the British government with a contingent of infantry and artillery, which he should be at liberty to employ against any power not in alliance with the British nation. Of these allies, moreover, an explicit list was inserted. They were, "Pundit Purdham, Madhajee Scindiah, Madhajee Ragojee Bhoonslah, and other Mahratta chiefs, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nabob Vizier, and the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore." An attempt was, moreover, made to engage the Company, on the grounds of the original convention, to assist in dispossessing Tippoo Sultan of his dominions, but to this Lord Cornwallis would not consent. He declared that the lapse of time, and the relations of general amity which subsisted between Tippoo and the British nation, prohibited any such contract; but he added that, "should it appear hereafter that the Company should obtain possession of the country specified, (the Carnatic Balaghaut,) through your Highness's assistance, they will strictly perform the stipulations in favour of your Highness and the Mahrattas."

Of this arrangement, Tippoo, as might have been expected, remained not long in ignorance. It appeared to him in the same light in which it had been seen by the Mahrattas, as foreboding an alliance offensive and defensive against himself; and anticipating a speedy

war, he began so to dispose his troops as that they might act with promptitude whenever the fitting moment should arrive. His actual position, moreover, was one which rendered it highly probable that, independently of this new treaty, a collision between his forces and those of the English would shortly occur. After reducing to obedience the Nairs of Malabar, he had latterly drawn towards the frontier of Travancore, a principality in strict alliance with the Company; and he now made such demands upon the sovereign as could not, consistently with the honour and safety of his realm, be admitted. In what these demands originated, as well as the grounds on which they were resisted, it will be necessary, to the right understanding of our future narrative, to relate.

The principality of Travancore is situated on the western coast of the peninsula, and extends from Cape Comorin on the south, to the island of Vapeen, in the estuary of the Churnamaugalum, twenty miles north of Cochin, It is surrounded in part by the sea, in part by a chain of mountains, except at one point towards the north, where there is an opening which measures about ten miles in width; and it is separated from the Company's settlement of Tinevelly by the hills alone. In former times, the Rajah of Travancore had lent his assistance to the Cochin Rajah in a war against the Zamorin of Calicut. He had, by this means, enabled the latter prince to

maintain his independence, and he had received as his reward two small districts to the north of Travancore, which were highly valuable to him. Covering these, as well as his patrimonial possessions, he had drawn a line of works which stretched from the sea, on the left, to the mountains on the right, as a barrier against the dreaded encroachments of Hyder Ally, then in the full career of his conquests.

On the left of this line stood the fort of Cranganore, which, with that of Ayacottah, formed the key of the whole position. These the Rajah obtained permission from the Dutch, to whom the fortresses in question belonged, to include within his defences; but the arrangement gave extreme umbrage both to Hyder and Tippoo. Cranganore had, it appeared, belonged originally to the Rajah of Cochin; that Rajah had been reduced by Hyder to the rank of a tributary, and Tippoo, on succeeding his father, required that a fortress for which the Europeans paid rent, should not be held contrary to the wishes of their lord paramount. The Rajah of Travancore, however, felt that the safety of his dominions would be compromised by paying attention to any such demand. He refused to surrender the place, collected an army in the lines, and appealed to the English for that assistance which they were bound to afford. Sir Archibald Campbell, who then held the reins of government at Madras, despatched, without delay, two battalions to his support; but ere

an opportunity was afforded for bringing them into play, Sir Archibald resigned. He was succeeded by Mr. Holland, a man widely different from himself both in his moral and political character; and a change in the policy of the British nation immediately took place. It was suggested to the Rajah that a British force could be employed only in protecting his own possessions from insult; that Cranganore, being a Dutch fort, came not within the meaning of the treaty; and hence that, were it assaulted, the commander of the British contingent must not interfere. The Rajah was surprised and hurt; but he instantly set aside the only obstacle on which it was possible to calculate, by purchasing, at the express recommendation of Major Bannerman, the accredited British agent, the superiority of Cranganore from his European neighbours.

Though made perfectly aware of the progress of this negotiation, Mr. Holland, when the critical moment arrived, refused to sanction it. Tippoo, in defiance of an assurance given to Sir Archibald Campbell, moved upon the lines; yet the British battalions were, by express orders from Madras, kept idly at a point where no danger threatened. Still Tippoo hesitated, for he had been given clearly to understand that any attack upon the Rajah of Travancore would be viewed as a declaration of war against the English. It was not hidden from him, moreover, that Lord Cornwallis, in anticipation of the probable results

of his recent treaty with the Nizam, had issued orders for the equipment of an efficient corps of carriage bullocks, and the organization of materiel for an army; and eagerly as his wishes pointed to the enterprise so often contemplated, he wavered long ere he gave way to them. At last, however, on the 29th of December, 1789, the attack was hazarded. It failed through one of those sudden panics to which half-disciplined armies are at all times liable, and the assailants were repulsed with the loss of two thousand men, Tippoo himself narrowly escaping from the rout.

Intelligence of this event reached Calcutta on the 26th of January, and instructions were instantly despatched to Madras, requiring the most gigantic preparations to be made for the conduct of the war. All payments to the creditors of the Nabob were ordered to be suspended; the advances necessary for providing the Company's investments were commanded to be withheld, and measures for the immediate assembling of an army were suggested. It was to no purpose that Tippoo, on the one hand, disavowed all participation in the late attack; and that Mr. Holland, on the other, persisted in arguing against the justice and sound policy of the war. Lord Cornwallis not only remained firm to his resolution, but made haste to propose fresh treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, both with the Nizam and the Mahratta chiefs. These, not without much delay, and the application of considerable ad-

dress, were at length completed, the parties severally engaging "never to make peace except with mutual consent; to make an equal partition of conquests; and to resist and punish, by their combined forces, any injury to either of them, which Tippoo thereafter might accomplish or attempt."

The vigorous counsels adopted by the supreme government were far from being approved or imitated by the subordinate authorities at Fort St. George. Mr. Holland still persisted in asserting his belief that no war was impending; and, contrary to the positive orders of Lord Cornwallis, supplied the Company's investments after their ordinary fashion, and neglected both to store magazines and equip an army. Giving implicit credit to the professions of Tippoo, or, as some authorities affirm, affecting so to do, he treated the instructions of his superiors with contempt, and persisted in regarding the state of India as perfectly quiet, till the convenient moment for his own resignation arrived. Even then he deviated in no degree from his former sentiments. "As far as I am able to judge," said he, in the letter which announced to the supreme government his intention of proceeding to England, "it is not Tippoo's intention to break with the Company. He probably feels himself injured by the conduct of our tributary, the Rajah of Travancore, and it rests with your Lordship to consider how far such conduct may have been consistent

with the respect which he owed this government, or with the law of nations. I confess it appears to me a very important question; and from the late letters received from Tippoo Sultan, there is every reason to believe he will be disposed to enter into negotiations for the adjustment of the points at issue." We cannot be surprised to find that, with language and conduct such as this, Lord Cornwallis became highly offended. He had even determined to proceed in person to Madras, for the purpose of superintending the preparations which the subordinate powers appeared disposed to neglect, when the arrival of General Medows as the successor of Mr. Holland, obviated the necessity, and matters were left for a time to take their natural course.

Meanwhile, Tippoo, finding that his disavowal of all participation in the recent attack on the lines of Travancore was discredited, began to assume a different and a more insolent tone. In reply to a message from the Madras government, which suggested the propriety of appointing commissioners to inquire into the claims of the rival parties, he made answer, "that there was nothing which remained for commissioners to perform; that the English, if they chose, might send one or two trusty persons to his presence, where any business that offered could be settled; but that if they chose to disregard the ties of friendship which subsisted between them and himself, the taking of the lines would not be a work of

much difficulty or time." As a matter of course, the English government would not so far degrade itself as to accede to this proposition, and hostile preparations went on with increasing energy on both sides. On the 7th of May, 1790, Tippoo carried the lines by assault, took and destroyed the forts of Cranganore and Ayacottah, marched onwards, and ravaged all the northern provinces of Travancore. But ere he could effect a perfect conquest of that principality, events befell which drew him back with accelerated velocity to his own capital.

Without waiting for the junction of the Mahrattas and the Nizam's contingent, the British authorities had early arranged a plan of campaign. In accordance with this, there arrived at Porore on the 23d of April, a force from Bombay, which consisted of his Majesty's 75th regiment and two battalions of sepoys, under Colonel Hartley. These, though they formed a junction with the two battalions from Madras, were unable to save either Porore or Cranganore; but took up a strong position in the island of Vapeen, so as to threaten the rear of Tippoo's army, at the same time that they were themselves secure from attack. Correspondent with this advance, the main body of the Carnatic forces arrived on the plains of Trichinopoly, and, spreading themselves towards Coimbatore, threatened to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, by the Gujelhutty Pass. In the meantime, General Abercrombie, with

the army of Bombay, made ready to reduce Tippoo's territory on the Malabar coast, and afterwards, should events render it desirable, to form a junction with Medows; while Colonel Kelly, at the head of a smaller force, should observe those passes by which the Mysorean could most conveniently descend into the Carnatic.

Whatever may be said of General Medows as a commander in the field, it is beyond dispute that, from the hour of his arrival at Madras, the utmost exertions were made to expedite the equipment of the troops, and prepare them for active operations. Unhappily, however, every thing was to be done from the beginning; and the consequence was that the month of May had far advanced ere the army was in readiness to move. On the 24th, the General joined it; on the 26th, it began its march; but ere twenty miles of country were traversed, most of the tumbrils broke down, and a halt became necessary. There was no depôt from which to make good the loss nearer than Trichinopoly, and thus twenty days were expended in passing as far as Caroor, a distance of barely sixty miles. Caroor being held by a feeble garrison, submitted without resistance, and General Medows determined to establish in it a magazine. He strengthened the fortifications, laid in a store of thirty days rice, and marched, on the 2d of July, towards Aravacourchy. On the 10th, he arrived at Daroporam, which he found to be evacuated, and

establishing another depôt there, he pressed on to Coimbatore.

Except a few straggling detachments of irregular horse, no enemy had yet shown themselves, though it was generally understood that Tippoo had concentrated upon Coimbatore, with the intention of risking a battle. Towards that place General Medows accordingly moved; but he had not proceeded many miles ere intelligence came in, that Tippoo had passed the Bowanny, and was ascending the steep defiles in the direction of Seringapatam. A corps of cavalry under Colonel Floyd was immediately sent forward, which entered Coimbatore in time to hinder the Mysorean rear-guard, under Seid Saheb, from setting it on fire. Floyd followed up his first success by penetrating into a small encampment of cavalry, where he took thirty or forty prisoners, and then pushed the main body, consisting of eight thousand men, across the river, after which he returned to head-quarters.

The withdrawal of Tippoo beyond the Ghauts, which it would require many days to descend, and the strength of the Coimbatore country covered by the swollen rivers Bawanny and Cavery, induced General Medows to divide his army, and to undertake at one and the same time the sieges of various forts which stood in the way of his line of communications. Heraie, a place of no great strength, capitulated in the beginning of August to Colonel Oldham. Dundigul, after successfully withstanding an assault,

surrendered on the 22d to Colonel Stuart, while Colonel Floyd seized, by a happy stratagem, Sattemungalum, an important post on the left bank of the Bawanny. These successes were followed by the advance upon Polygatcherry of Colonel Stuart, who sat down before it on the 9th, and the attack of Devi Cottah was only deferred till the subsiding of the waters of the Bawanny would enable Colonel Floyd effectually to invest it. In the meanwhile General Medows lay at Coimbatore, with one native and two European battalions. He had collected there a store of forty days rice, which was intended to supply the wants of the army so soon as it should arrive at Seringapatam, and he gave instructions to establish a second depôt at Sattemungalum for sixty days consumption. Provisions likewise abounded in the several camps, inasmuch as the inhabitants being strictly protected, every article was paid for in ready money; nor was a single enemy to be seen beyond a few horsemen, who occasionally crossed the river to reconnoitre. In like manner, the other portions of the force employed in the present war enjoyed all of them the most profound security. The Bengal detachment, which had arrived at Madras in July, was encamped at Arnee, under Kelly, where, with three European and two sepoy regiments, it formed the centre army. Colonel Hartley remained in the neighbourhood of Cochin. The Nizam was cantoned on the north side of the Kistna;

his nephew, Mahabut-jing, the Nabob of Adoni, was at Rachore, with ten thousand men, while the Mahrattas, accompanied by two sepoy battalions, were across the Kistna, and slowly advancing. All, however, looked with apparent anxiety to the movements of General Medows, who was understood to wait only the return of the dry season for the purpose of invading Mysore. But ere the design could be accomplished, or the preparations necessary for it completed, Tippoo was again in the field, and the contest, instead of leading to rapid and easy conquest, became for a time a war of defence.

Early in September, Colonel Floyd, who held the outposts on the Bawanny, received intelligence that the Mysorean army had broken up from Seringapatam, and was advancing towards the Gujelhutty Pass. For some days the rumour obtained little credit, but on the 11th the reports became more circumstantial, and on the 12th they assumed a form which convinced him that they were correct. He instantly despatched a message to Coimbatore to inform General Medows of the movement, while his own vigilance, which had never been relaxed, became more than ever necessary. On the 13th, the piquets, which had been sent out to patrol, were furiously attacked. They retreated upon the support, a regiment of cavalry, which was likewise borne down by weight of numbers, and the whole took shelter among some en-

closures, where they continued gallantly to defend themselves. Floyd, who heard the firing, advanced at a long trot with the remainder of the cavalry ; he charged the enemy with vigour, and, destroying upwards of four hundred of them, compelled the rest to retire. He then drew off to his encampment; but he had not many minutes reached it when two guns opened upon him, and the enemy were seen advancing in great numbers along both banks of the river. Floyd formed his line without delay, and a cannonade began from which the British infantry suffered a good deal, and which cost them several of their guns. At sunset the firing ceased, when Floyd, having consulted his brother officers, determined on a retreat, so soon as he should be joined by the garrison of Sattemungalum, which it was resolved to abandon. Had the proposed junction taken place, as it might have done at midnight, the detachment would probably have escaped uninjured, but unfortunately the officer in command at Sattemungalum got drunk, and the morning dawned ere he arrived. The consequence was that, though three guns were abandoned as useless, and some of the baggage sacrificed, Floyd's infantry were overtaken and attacked about noon on the 14th, at a moment when the cavalry, which marched more lightly, chanced to be full three miles in advance. A severe action ensued, which, by the prompt return of the cavalry, ended in favour of the English, but of which the cost amounted to

not less than one hundred and fifty-six Europeans, and two hundred and eighty natives killed and wounded.

While this was going on, General Medows, who had taken a wrong direction on the 14th, retraced his steps, and was joined on the 16th, at Coimbatore, by Floyd. Both now moved upon Polligatchery, in order to cover Colonel Stuart, who, on the 24th, compelled the place to surrender, and, on the 26th, reinforced with his detachment the main army. In the meanwhile, Tippoo, after taking possession of Sattemungalum, marched upon Eroad, which he plundered, and then took the direction of Corore, whither, on the 29th, Medows followed. Tippoo immediately changed his course, struck across the country to Darapuram, which he took after three days firing of musketry, and then, doubling back, pushed rapidly for Coimbatore. It was well for the British army that this important place had just been strengthened by the arrival of Hartley from Cochin. That officer, after defeating the Mysorean general left to watch him, had marched, of his own accord, to join Medows, and now stood opportunely in the way of the destruction of the magazine upon which, more than upon any other, the whole army depended for supplies. Baffled in this attempt, Tippoo seemed undecided how to act, till he learnt that Medows, hurrying to the defence of Coimbatore, was on the line of his communications. He instantly moved on the road to Annymally, as if with

the intention of going round by Calicut, and reascending the Ghauts from the Malabar coast; but he as suddenly changed his route, and passing within a single march of the whole British army, resumed his original position near Sattemungalum. So adroitly, too, was the movement arranged, that General Medows remained in profound ignorance of it, till the sultan's evening gun, heard at Tripore, gave proof that he had escaped the toils.

The stock of provisions which, on the opening of the campaign, had been so carefully laid up at Coimbatore, was by this time consumed; and it became necessary to detach a force to Carore for supplies. Of this measure, which kept the army unavoidably inactive, Tippoo made haste to take advantage. Having ascertained that the centre army, to the command of which Colonel Maxwell had, by the death of Kelly, succeeded, was penetrating into Baramahl, he resolved to move against it; and on the 31st of October, he began to cross the Cavery for that purpose. Though the Mysorean camp stood at no greater distance than ten miles from that of Medows, the British general remained in profound ignorance of this manœuvre till after it had been accomplished; nor was he in a condition to follow his active enemy before the 9th of November.

On the very day which saw Medows's corps across the Cavery, and in full pursuit of Tippoo, the advanced guard of the Mysoreans

arrived in the vicinity of Colonel Maxwell's camp, which was pitched at the distance of one mile from Caverypatam. Maxwell had reached this place some days previously, having on his march taken possession of Vaurambadary and Tripassore, and, on the 4th, had sent back a detachment as far as Amboor for rice. The convoy narrowly escaped destruction from Tippoo's horse, which lay in ambush to surprise it on its return, by taking a direction wide of that which it had been instructed to follow. A different fate befell the single regiment of cavalry which accompanied the Carnatic division. Having been drawn to a distance from the camp in pursuit of certain stragglers, the corps was suddenly charged by superior numbers, and lost, ere it could make good its retreat upon the infantry, upwards of seventy men. This occurred on the 11th; and on the 12th, a force, which was supposed to comprise the whole of the sultan's army, appeared in sight; but Maxwell refusing to quit his strong ground, the enemy abstained from risking an attack. After manœuvring for some days, during which, as the event proved, he lay between the corps of Medows and Maxwell, Tippoo finally withdrew; and on the 17th, the detached portions of the British army came into contact. It so happened, that the route which Tippoo followed in the retreat, brought him, when he least expected it, once more within view of the British troops. The two armies met in the

pass of Tappoor, through which each was desirous of proceeding; and there, but for the excessive caution of General Medows, a decisive action must have been fought. But his fortune again saved the sultan, and he escaped with little loss. A close and rapid pursuit now commenced, which brought General Medows, on the 27th, to the Cavery. There, however, the enemy were lost; nor were they again heard of, till the alarming intelligence came in, that the island of Seringham had been plundered, and that Trichinopoly itself was in danger.

General Medows was meditating an entrance into the Mysore territory, through the passes of Gujelhutty and Tambercherry, when the above information reached him. He immediately abandoned his design, and moved with rapid strides upon Trichinopoly. He reached it on the 14th of December, Tippoo, as usual, retreating before him, and proceeding through the heart of Coromandel, which he cruelly laid waste, towards Theagur. That fortress, commanded by the gallant Captain Flint, resisted all his efforts; but Trinomalee and Permacoil both opened their gates, after which he drew towards Pondicherry, through the governor of which he endeavoured to open a negotiation with the French king. In the meantime, Medows continued the pursuit as far as Trinomalee, where an order from Lord Cornwallis, bearing date at Madras, required his presence at the seat of government. The

army accordingly defiled towards Arnee, where the stores and heavy guns were deposited, and arrived, without any occurrence worthy of repetition, on the 27th of January, at Velout.

Such were the chief occurrences in this first campaign against Tippoo, on one of the lines by which he was threatened. In Malabar, again, his army sustained, as has been stated, a signal defeat at the hands of Colonel Hartley, while almost all the most important of his forts opened their gates to General Abercrombie, who, a few days posterior to the battle, assumed the command. Nor were the allies, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas altogether idle. The former, emboldened by the results of Medows' first operations, sat down before the strong hill-fort of Copul, while the latter employed themselves in the blockade of Darwar, a formidable post upon the plain, about sixty miles north-west of Copul. Both of these sieges were in progress, and other expeditions meditated, when the arrival of the governor-general from Calcutta gave a turn to the whole plan of the war, and infused a degree of confidence into all ranks, such as prompted to bolder and more decisive measures.

CHAPTER IV.

Change of the revenue system in the Carnatic—Lord Cornwallis takes the command of the army—His first campaign—Takes Bangalore—Retires from Seringapatam—His second campaign—Attack of the Sultan's lines—Seringapatam invested—Peace with Tippoo.

While these events were in progress, certain changes took place in the financial administration of the Carnatic, of which it will be necessary to give here some account. Among other instructions issued by the newly established board of control, there was one which arbitrarily required that the government of Madras should restore to the Nabob that full authority touching the revenues of his country which, prior to the period of Lord Macartney's government, he had been accustomed to exercise. Together with this, however, came an order for the payment of his debts, which were to be liquidated by annual instalments of twelve lacs of rupees; whilst, to cover the expenses of the peace establishment, which were taken at an average of twenty-one lacs per annum, it was decreed that the nabob, the English presidency, and the rajah of Tanjore, should contribute each a sum proportionate to the gross amount of their respective revenues. In the

event of a war again, it was resolved that the several parties should contribute four-fifths of their respective revenues to the exigencies of the state; and in case of any delay in the payments, the English government was authorized to appoint receivers, who should obtain the money immediately from the amildars. Such were the arrangements made by Sir Archibald Campbell previous to his retirement; and the plan appeared in itself so reasonable, that all the parties interested expressed themselves satisfied.

No great while elapsed, however, ere the utter hopelessness of any attempt to derive a steady revenue from a country thus managed became apparent. The Nabob, who had fallen greatly in arrear even during the continuance of peace, declared himself quite incompetent to meet the demands of his allies during war; and the securities which had been taken against such a proceeding proved wholly useless. There remained, therefore, no alternative between positive disobedience to the commands of the board of control, and the absence of adequate funds for the preservation of the country. Happily, Lord Cornwallis possessed sufficient strength of mind to assume, without hesitation, the responsibility imposed upon him. Having tried in vain to obtain a voluntary surrender of his privileges from the nabob, he issued orders that they should at once be withdrawn, and that the administration of the revenue should be again placed on the footing

to which Lord Macartney had advanced it. It was to no purpose that the nabob had recourse to his usual arts, endeavouring to sow disunion between the supreme and the subordinate governments. To the insinuations of the nabob's agents, the governor-general paid no heed; but, allotting both to Mohamed Ally and to the Rajah of Tanjore pensions to a specific amount, he caused the revenues of their several countries to be formally collected in the name and for the service of the Company. Thus was an end put to that system of wretched hypocrisy which, though long persevered in, had deceived no one; and in Madras, as at Bengal, the English stood forth as the avowed not less than the virtual sovereigns of the soil.

These arrangements were completed ere Lord Cornwallis, whose original design of taking the field in person against Tippoo had been for a time suspended, determined to assume the immediate conduct of the war. To this determination he appears to have come so late as the middle of November; at least the letter which announces to the Court of Directors his approaching assumption of military command bears date on the 17th of that month. But however this may be, the determination was no sooner formed than it was carried into effect. On the 12th of December, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras; and the army being recalled, as described in the last chapter, a plan of campaign totally new was arranged.

Two lines of operation offered themselves for Lord Cornwallis's choice. One of these (that by the southern passes) threatened to carry the columns far from their grand depôt at Madras; the other, by Velore, Amboor, and Bangalore, was both barren of supplies, and imposed upon him the necessity of reducing Bangalore, as a step preliminary to all others. Now, Bangalore was well known to be second in point of strength only to Seringapatam itself. It was distant ninety miles from Amboor, the only point at which a magazine for the Company's force could be formed; and the value which Tippoo Sultan was understood to set upon it gave assurance that it would be defended to the last extremity. Nevertheless, it was by this line, and in the face of these obstacles, that Lord Cornwallis resolved to proceed; and the army accordingly, breaking up on the 5th of February, took the road, in excellent spirits, to Velore.

Up to the present moment, Tippoo, either amused by his projected alliance with the French, or trusting that his presence in the Carnatic would deter the English from advancing upon Mysore, had held his ground at Gingee. No sooner, however, had the British army, by a happy display of skill in manœuvring, gained the summit of the Mooglee pass, than he decamped with all speed, and ascending the mountains by Changama and Policody, prepared to retrieve the error of which he found that he had been guilty. He was not, however, so

eager in his retreat as to neglect the use of an expedient, from which it is difficult to surmise how he could hope to derive any advantage. He endeavoured to open with Lord Cornwallis a negotiation for peace; but both the time of his message and the rank of the messengers proving distasteful, the arrangement came to nothing. His next care was turned to the removal from Bangalore of his harem and treasures, and his last to a feeble effort at harassing and impeding the further progress of the British army.

The consequence of so much indecision on the part of the enemy was, that the British army arrived at its ground, within a thousand yards of the pettah of Bangalore, without having suffered any serious inconvenience or loss of life. Once only the sultan made a demonstration as if he designed to cut off the baggage; but Lord Cornwallis, by drawing out his rear-guard, and causing the remainder of the army to defile under cover of that line, completely defeated the scheme, while he avoided a useless battle. The case was somewhat different on the morning of the 5th of March, when the cavalry under Colonel Floyd were sent out to cover a reconnoisance of the engineers. Having overthrown a body of the enemy's horse, they came suddenly upon his infantry and guns, which they charged with great fury and complete success; and they were tempted, by the ardour inseparable from the feelings of the moment, to continue the pursuit too far. At

this juncture, Floyd received a musket-shot which beat him from his horse. He was quickly remounted; but, the bullet having passed through both cheeks, he could no longer issue orders; and the men, left without a leader, soon fell into confusion. The enemy hastened to take advantage of the circumstance. The cavalry were assailed in their turn by a heavy fire of small arms, and escaped total destruction only by the forced movement of a brigade of infantry under Major Gowdie.

Though lamenting the loss which their own rashness had occasioned to his cavalry, Lord Cornwallis intermitted nothing of his zeal and activity. The pettah was stormed and carried, after an obstinate resistance, on the 7th, and batteries, both to enfilade and to breach, were raised against the fort. But Tippoo, with his whole army, threatening every moment to attack the lines, it was found impracticable to complete the investment; by which means the garrison was relieved from day to day with the utmost regularity. As a necessary consequence, the defence was maintained with great spirit; and during a full fortnight the progress of the besiegers kept not pace with the expectations of their general.

Various were the expedients adopted by Tippoo to embarrass the English in their operations. After trying in vain numerous demonstrations, and harassing his own not less than his enemy's cavalry, he, as a last resource, advanced his artillery in a fog, and planted it

under cover of the ground which was much broken, so as to command the whole of the trenches and flying sap; but the troops turning hastily out as soon as the guns began to fire, they were withdrawn without having done any serious mischief. The same day he pushed a corps of infantry, supported by nine field-pieces, into the rear of the lines, but recalled it again ere time was afforded it to act. These, with similar manœuvres, were again and again repeated, as if the sultan had desired to hazard an action, yet found his courage fail whenever such an event seemed inevitable. But they caused no interruption whatever in the duties of the siege. The sap was pushed forward, the batteries played without ceasing, and at length a breach was effected, which, though both narrow and steep, the general resolved to attempt.

The breach in question was effected, and the fire of the place greatly subdued on the 20th, when Tippoo, either informed of the designs of tho English general, or naturally anticipating them, made one effort more to save the place. At daybreak on the 21st, one strong column approached the pettah on the west; another, supported by ten or twelve guns, took post in a cypress grove, about a thousand yards to the eastward; whilst the main body drew out in battle array, still farther to the south. The British troops were immediately ordered under arms; and Colonel Stuart's division, advancing as if to turn the enemy's right flank, Tippoo

instantly broke into column, and retired to his former ground. The party in the grove, however, still maintained its attitude; and a number of men were seen busily employed opening embrasures in the parapet of a tank, which might sweep the front of the breach, and enfilade the British batteries. These bore a very formidable appearance: nevertheless, Lord Cornwallis, finding his ammunition fall short, gave orders for an immediate assault; and that very night the orders were obeyed.

A little after ten o'clock, the storming party quitted the trenches. They were met with a heavy but ill-directed fire, which did little execution, and scarce retarded them for a moment, when, mounting over the ruins, they spread themselves to the right and left along the ramparts, and in less than half an hour the place was taken. The slaughter among the garrison was great, upwards of three hundred being bayoneted in one of the gateways; whereas the loss on the part of the assailants was very trifling. But the siege, from beginning to end, had cost them sufficiently dear. Independently of the loss of life among the troops, upwards of five thousand carriage bullocks had perished; and such was the scarcity of provisions, that the draught cattle were slaughtered by hundreds every day to feed the men. Nevertheless, the conquest was a very important one; for, had their necessities compelled them to raise the siege, the whole of the battering train must have been abandoned, through the absence of

animals capable of conveying it to a place of safety.

Though the citadel was taken on the night of the 21st, the 28th arrived ere Lord Cornwallis found himself in a condition to move; and even then he might have hesitated as to the policy of such a measure, but for the reported approach of the Nizam's cavalry. Partly with the view of meeting them, partly to ascertain how Tippoo was disposed to act, he set forward. The Mysorean had, on the same day, struck his tents, and moving in a line diagonal to that pursued by the British, the armies crossed each other, not without a skirmish. On the 12th of April the Nizam's corps came up; but it proved in every respect so inefficient, as to be a burthen rather than an assistance to the British army. On the 18th, a fresh reinforcement, consisting of five battalions of sepoys and a regiment of cavalry, joined at Venkatgerry. Unfortunately, however, there accompanied them no more bullocks than were absolutely necessary to convey their own supplies; and as the movements of the army were entirely crippled through the want of means of transport, an appeal was made to the generosity of individuals which, to their honour be it recorded, was not made in vain. Lord Cornwallis, having returned to Bangalore on the 28th, "found it necessary to call in the army, to assist him in the grand design of reducing the enemy's capital before the monsoon. Almost every officer carried, at his own expense, two or three

bullock-loads of shot or shells, and the Nizam's troops alone carried five thousand eighteen-pound shot *."

On the 4th of May, the army took the road for Seringapatam, an express being sent to acquaint General Abercrombie, and to desire that he would make a simultaneous movement from the side of Malabar. The whole face of the country, whenever they approached, presented the aspect of a desert; for though they took a wide and unfrequented route, with the design of anticipating Tippoo's devastations, he contrived to be beforehand with his ravagers and burners. After incredible labour and much suffering, the head of the column arrived on the 13th at Arkary, a place on the banks of the Cavery, and within sight of Seringapatam. Here a severe action was fought, Tippoo having assumed a strong position, and his troops defending it with unlooked-for energy: indeed, the behaviour of the Mysore infantry was such as to excite not less astonishment than respect among those who witnessed it. "They stood the fire of our musketry," says an eye-witness, "often till our troops were within a few yards of them; they defended every post; they rallied wherever the ground was favourable; and when at last driven from the field, they retreated without confusion." They did, however, fall back within the island on which the city of Seringapatam

* Letter from Sir Thomas Munro.

stands, and the victors gained, according to the same authority, the privilege of beholding them there.

The monsoon had by this time fairly set in, and the cattle were dying by hundreds every day. Upwards of forty thousand had perished since the opening of the campaign, while the absolute failure of both forage and shelter threatened to destroy such as still remained. Add to this the suffering of the troops, among whom disease of every kind, not even excepting the small-pox, raged, and some estimate may be formed of the condition of the army, and its capability of carrying on a laborious siege. Lord Cornwallis saw that the matter was hopeless. Having instructed General Abercrombie, who was in position at Periapatam, to fall back without delay, he destroyed his own battering train, threw his powder into wells, buried his shot, and prepared to return to Bangalore. He began his retrograde movement on the 26th of May. It was conducted leisurely, because the means of marching otherwise than at a slow pace were wanting; and the sufferings of those engaged in it would have been great indeed, but for the opportune arrival, ere many miles were traversed, of the Mahratta contingent. These men, after expending twenty-nine weeks in the reduction of Darwar, had pressed on, so soon as they heard of the approaching siege of Seringapatam, and they now arrived at a moment when they were sorely needed, bringing with them both cattle and

provisions for the use of their allies. The consequence was, that though the amount of stores would not authorize a renewal of the siege, it enabled the British general to conduct his retreat with order, and to carry back his people with discipline uninjured early in July to Bangalore.

It is not to be imagined that the Mahrattas imparted from their abundance either freely or gratuitously to the English. For every article, on the contrary, they demanded an exorbitant price, while they assured the governor-general of their own inability to keep the field, unless regularly subsidized; yet, though compelled to submit to both these exactions, Lord Cornwallis was in no plight to murmur. To meet the wishes of the Mahratta leaders, he caused the treasure to be taken from the China ships, and coined into rupees; whilst in matters of more private traffic, every requisition on the part of the dealer was rigidly and conscientiously obeyed. By such means, these unprofitable friends, but dangerous enemies, were kept in good humour; while various lesser enterprises were undertaken and successfully accomplished, even during the retreat. Of these, the most important was the capture of Hoolydroog, a strong hill-fort, stored with a large supply of grain; which, however, being little estimated either by the English or their allies, was, as soon as it had been plundered, razed to the ground.

Notwithstanding the compulsory abandon-

ment of the proposed siege of Seringapatam, the results of this campaign, though far from lightly purchased, were, upon the whole, exceedingly favourable to the interests of the English. The same severity of weather which had destroyed half Lord Cornwallis's cavalry, and nearly the half of his bullocks, was experienced in equal force by Tippoo; and if his immediate losses were not so great as those of the English, his means of recruiting them were far less available. In former times, his supply of horses was derived chiefly from the countries of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, both of which, in consequence of the war, were now shut against him; while his brood mares, upon which, to a certain extent, he had been likewise accustomed to depend, were all in the hands of his enemies. His infantry again, if less disorganized than his cavalry, was a good deal diminished in numbers, which it seemed next to impossible that he could by any exertion recruit. With the exception of a belt of country around his capital, he could be said to command the resources of scarcely any portion of his own dominions; and this belt had suffered more than the customary visitation of war, even to absolute depopulation. It is true that here and there a stronghold was still garrisoned in his name; provinces, likewise, sufficiently fertile and populous, obeyed the edicts of his deputies; but almost all of these were so far removed from the seat of war as to be in no degree conducive to his strength as a

belligerent. His last resource, therefore, seemed about to be brought into play. It was no longer in his power to act vigorously on the offensive, for the fear of the Mahrattas alone was sufficient to prevent any division of his forces; and to move the whole upon the Carnatic would have required the presence of a train of cattle, which must have rendered his movements even less rapid than those of the enemy. Unless, therefore, the firmness of the English should give way, or their pecuniary resources prove inadequate to another campaign, it was very evident that Tippoo must shut himself up in his capital, and trust all to the vigour of the defence which he might find it practicable to make.

No great while elapsed after the return of the British army to Bangalore, ere the most satisfactory proofs were given that neither the courage nor the resources of those under whom they acted was impaired. In the first place, an arrangement was effected, through the agency of Captain Alexander Read, an active and intelligent officer in the Company's service, by which grain was abundantly furnished to the army by a caste of merchants passing under the general appellation of Brinjarries, whose business it was to convey rice from one part of India to another. These men travel in large caravans, well armed and accoutred. They are, for the most part, respected by the tribes through whose country they move, being regarded as neutrals in most wars, though they are at all

times prepared to repel force by force, and are remarkable for strict adherence to the terms of their agreements. Being invited by Captain Read to bring their goods to camp, they were well received by the commander-in-chief, and they continued ever after to hold a market there, on terms as reasonable as could have been afforded even by the government itself.

In addition to this valuable source of supply, instructions were issued to the heads of departments at Calcutta and Madras that every exertion should be made to recruit the matériel and replenish the military chest. One hundred elephants, with cattle, carriages, and other means of transport in proportion, were, in consequence of these orders, speedily collected at Vellore; and it now only remained to open the nearest and most convenient passes for the purpose of enabling them to join. No time was lost in accomplishing this important object. On the 15th of July the army was again in motion towards the forts of Oossoor and Rayacottah, which command the Policade Ghaut; ere the close of the month both were taken, and the valuable convoy from Ambore was secured.

While the army lay at Oossoor, a vakeel, or envoy, arrived from Tippoo with proposals for peace. This was not the first occasion since the commencement of hostilities on which the Mysorean had endeavoured to amuse Lord Cornwallis with negotiations, but his Lordship had either seen, or believed that he saw, good

ground for distrusting their sincerity, and he had consequently disregarded them. No better success attended the present than had attended previous efforts. The envoy was not so much as admitted within the camp, and military operations were never for a moment interrupted. These consisted for several months in the destruction of various forts, in the clearing of the valley of Baramahl, and the establishment of a solid base of operations. Nundydroog, a place of great strength, and important from its position between Bangalore and Gurumanda, was taken by assault. Savendroog, accounted by Tippoo impregnable, and one of the main bulwarks of Seringapatam, fell after three days open trenches; while Ootradroog, a fortress twelve miles in advance, and second in point of importance only to Savendroog, was carried with the loss of only two men wounded. Thus was a direct and safe road from Madras opened, and the capital of Mysore exposed to the full force of the torrent which was about to be rolled against it.

Corresponding in point of time with these operations were the movements of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, the former of whom, supported by a brigade of British sepoys, pushed upon Chittledroog. Baffled in their attempt to gain possession of this place by treachery, they marched westward to Hoolly Honoor, which was breached, stormed, and carried by Captain Little's detachment. The fall of this place led to the immediate submission of all the fertile

district of which it is the capital. The Mahrattas, elated by their success, prepared to advance into Bednore; but Tippoo had not been regardless of that province. A strong corps detached for its defence was, in despite of a formidable resistance, defeated near Simoga by Captain Little's brigade, after which Simoga itself was formally invested and entered by capitulation. Nevertheless, the Mahrattas were not successful in their expedition against Bednore. Roused to increased exertion by the defeat of his first army, Tippoo sent a second under an able leader, who recovered Simoga, and alarmed the Nizam so much that he precipitately retreated. With the exception of the capture of Adjamboor, the Mahrattas attempted nothing farther, till they were called upon to join their allies at Seringapatam.

If the services of the Mahrattas were of little worth, those of the Nizam proved still less valuable. His army sat down before Gurumanda, of the pettah, or lower town, of which it obtained possession after a siege of many weeks, but the castle defied every effort of an enemy so unskilful. Hyder Saib, Tippoo's eldest son, having been detached by his father to oppose the troops of the Deccan, arrived near Gurumanda at a moment when only a portion of the Nizam's army kept up the blockade, and he not only revictualled the citadel, but recovered the town, into which he threw a strong garrison. The Nizam's people, who were then engaged in covering the approach of a convoy to Lord Corn-

wallis's camp, appear to have regarded the capture of the place as no longer practicable; and Hyder Saib, not willing to risk one success by aiming at another, returned without delay to Seringapatam.

Neither the progress of Lord Cornwallis, nor the desultory attacks of the native powers, were met by any vigorous or decisive movement on the part of Tippoo. While General Abercrombie closed in upon him from the rear, and the main army of the English threatened him in front, he found himself unable either to check the approaches of the one, or seriously to alarm the other for their convoys. An expedition was, indeed, sent into Coimbatore, which created, for a brief space, some uneasiness for that place. Coimbatore itself fell, and Major Cuppage, who had been left to guard the district, narrowly escaped a defeat. But the disaster, though a fit subject of regret, was not such as to divert the commander-in-chief one moment from his main design. Towards that, on the contrary, he exerted himself to render every other contingency subservient, and the efforts of Tippoo to interrupt its accomplishment only betrayed the weakness from which they sprang.

Early in January, 1792, the head-quarters of the main army were established at Ootradroog. A halt was made here till the 25th, when the Hyderabad contingent arrived, and Colonel Maxwell was sent with his brigade to summon the fort of Hoolydroog. Though a strong place and highly important, as commanding the great

road from Ootradroog to Seringapatam, it opened its gates almost on the first summons, thus leaving the capital wholly uncovered, except by the advanced works which had recently been constructed. Now, at length, Lord Cornwallis made ready to open the campaign in earnest. Having reviewed his army on the 31st, he put it in motion at day-break on the 1st of February, the whole marching in three columns, parallel one to the other. On the right, and nearest to the enemy, marched the infantry and field-pieces; on the left were the lighter carts, officers' baggage, and camp followers; and in the centre were the battering train, tumbrils, heavy waggons, bullocks, and elephants. These three columns were distant not more than one hundred yards from one another, and the whole were preceded and covered on either flank by the cavalry and sharpshooters.

Nothing occurred worthy of particular notice during the advance. The enemy offered no resistance, showing only an occasional squadron of horse, which hovered along the line of march as if to reconnoitre, and invariably disappeared when any movement was made to intercept them. In this state things continued till the 5th, when, after passing through a country everywhere laid waste, and witnessing the melancholy spectacle of houses and villages on fire, Seringapatam at length lay before them. Strongly fortified in itself, and bristling with cannon, it was protected from insult by a chain of field-works scarcely less formidable than

those of the city itself, which again were lined by the whole of the Sultan's army, amounting to forty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry.

Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, is situated upon an island which is formed by the separation of the waters of the Cavery. The river in question is fordable in more than one place, but the fords were, on the present occasion, covered by the line of intrenchments which the Sultan had, under the direction of European engineers, thrown up. This line, which measured about four miles in extent, rested its right upon a hill, called the Pagoda-hill, while its left ran parallel with the river. A broad deep nullah, or tank, covered it in front; on the edge of the nullah was a thick hedge of thorns and aloes; and in rear of the hedge were the lines, having within them, at convenient distances from each other, eight field forts—each fort supplied with double ditches, a glacis, and a covered way. These were capable of containing from five to six hundred men each, and were armed with guns of a heavy calibre, varying in number from ten to twenty. The left of this formidable position, besides being covered by a redoubt, was rendered secure by a swamp; the rear was defended by the river; and the whole, with the exception of the extreme right, lay exposed to the fire of the citadel.

Lord Cornwallis having halted his columns and reconnoitred the enemy's dispositions, despatched immediate instructions to General

Abercrombie to close in upon the southern side of the river, at the same time that he directed the Nizam's corps to fill up the interval, by touching upon Abercrombie's right. In the meanwhile, that no time might be lost in completing the investment, he determined upon assaulting Tippoo's intrenchments, driving him back upon the island, if not within the town, and seizing the fords. With this view the army received orders to parade at nine o'clock on the night of the 6th, in three columns, each to be preceded by a body of pioneers with ladders. Neither the tents nor the guns were, however, to be moved, for the latter could be of no avail in the dark, and the former being left standing in care of the reserve, would serve, it was believed, to obviate all suspicion of what was intended. Every thing was done as the general desired. The right column, under General Medows, which consisted of his Majesty's 36th and 76th regiments, of the Bengal brigade, and Captain Oram's battalion of Madras sepoys, was destined to turn the enemy's left. The centre, commanded by Colonel Stuart, under Lord Cornwallis, was composed of the 52d, 71st, and 74th British regiments, supported by the 4th Bengal, and 2d and 21st coast battalions. This corps had it in charge to force the enemy's centre, and to possess themselves of all his works to the right, as far as the hill. The left, led on by Col. Maxwell, was made up of the 72d British, the 5th coast brigade, and the 23d battalion; and was required to storm the Pagoda-hill, with

the redoubt which crowned it; while a party of artillery and lascars, under the orders of Major Montague, followed in rear of all, for the purpose of turning the enemy's guns, so soon as taken, upon themselves.

Midnight was close at hand, and the moon shone full and cloudless, when the heads of the three columns reached the several points of attack almost at the same moment. The centre passed the nullah, and entered the works ere they were discovered, when, finding no troops drawn out to oppose them, they pushed through the camp, where all the tents were standing and in order. They arrived, indeed, at the head-quarters itself, before a single shot was fired, when, separating into three divisions, one pushed boldly for the river, crossed it near the fort, and were hindered from rushing in with the stream of fugitives only by the celerity with which the gate was shut. They then wheeled to the right, passed through a long bazaar street, and crossing the island, arrived at the ford called Cingul, which communicates between it and the southern country. It was defended by a work on which two guns were mounted, one of which the garrison found time to discharge, but the assailants rushing in with the bayonet, penetrated in a moment across the rampart, and the ford, with its defences, was their own.

The success which attended the operations of the second division of this column under Colonel Stuart was not less signal nor less rapid. They, too, passed the river, and, turn-

ing to the left, swept the whole of the bank, till they came in contact with Colonel Maxwell's column, which had carried every thing before it. Maxwell had not, however, advanced thus far without opposition. After penetrating the first line, he had taken the river at a point where the bottom was rocky and the banks steep, and he had lost some men by the enemy's fire before he could make good his passage. But the advance of Stuart in their rear alarming the Mysoreans, they fled in confusion, and here also the camp was carried and the island won.

While these things were passing on the left and centre, General Medows advanced, according to his instructions, against the enemy's left, till he found himself in front of a strong redoubt, into which the flower of Tippoo's infantry seemed to have been thrown. The grenadiers of the 36th and 76th regiments carried the covered way with the bayonet, but in attempting to enter the gorge they were met with such a fire of grape and musketry as compelled them to recoil. Thrice they renewed the attack, and thrice they were repulsed, when the enemy's ammunition beginning to fail, a fourth assault was hazarded with better success. The troops rushed in like men infuriated, and three hundred and fifty of their opponents paid the penalty of a desperate resistance. The general now turned the head of his column towards the centre, for the purpose of joining Lord Cornwallis; but keeping too near the front of the enemy's camp, he passed his lord-

ship in the rear, and never halted till he reached the Pagoda-hill.

The consequence of this error was, that Lord Cornwallis, who had detached two divisions from his column, as has been described, remained during several hours in very imminent danger. After gaining the interior of the camp he had halted, retaining only six European and four sepoy companies about himself, and he now stood exposed with this slender escort to the attack of the whole of the enemy's left, which had as yet suffered little, and saw and strove to take advantage of his weakness. Happily the 52d regiment, which had penetrated into the island, and become detached from all support, after gallantly carrying four of the enemy's guns, and driving back a very superior force, came up just as the firing began. In recrossing the stream the men missed the ford, by which all their ammunition was spoiled, but they soon supplied themselves from the stores belonging to a sepoy regiment, and they now threw in a fire upon the enemy's flank which completely disconcerted them. The Mysoreans recoiled—they returned again to the charge, and were again repulsed, when they fled in confusion across a canal, which it was not judged prudent to pass. Lord Cornwallis accordingly threw a few companies into one of the captured redoubts, and drew off towards the Pagoda-hill, where his junction with Medows was effected.

Thus ended the business of the night, and

in the morning it was found that the field-forts covering both flanks of the enemy's position had fallen, and that the assailants were in possession of a line which stretched completely across the island. The redoubts in the centre of the Mysorean camp, however, still held out, while that into which Cornwallis threw his garrison at the close of the last attack stood so exposed to the fire of the place, as to be beyond the reach of defence, except by the brave men by whom it was occupied. The latter circumstance was too apparent not to be taken advantage of by the enemy. After destroying by the fire of the artillery a temporary barricade with which Captain Sibbald, the commandant, endeavoured to close up the gorge open to the citadel, they pushed forward repeated columns, in the hope of carrying the work by assault. One after another they were beaten back, and at the close of the day the redoubt remained in possession of the British, though purchased by the lives of its gallant commander and upwards of forty out of its garrison, amounting to one hundred and fifty men*.

The attack upon this redoubt was not the only effort made on the 7th to retrieve the losses sustained during the preceding night. Twice was the line assailed which the British troops had formed across the eastern neck of

* When Captain Sibbald fell, his place was nobly filled by Major Skelly and Captain Hunter, of the 52d, both of them volunteers, urged to the post of danger by their own enthusiasm and chivalrous courage.

the island, and twice were the enemy repulsed with loss. They were kept, however, in a state of some anxiety by the report which reached them, that the whole force of the garrison would be employed that night in a fresh assault; nevertheless the night passed by in quiet, and the morrow brought with it no symptoms of renewed danger.

So far every thing had succeeded according to Lord Cornwallis's wish. His loss in the late action amounted to no more than five hundred and thirty-five men killed and wounded, whereas that of the enemy, independently of four thousand placed *hors de combat*, amounted to not less than ten thousand by desertion. That the moral effect of the attack, however, was not less powerful than its actual issue, was proved by the sending out on the morning of the 8th, loaded with presents, of certain officers whom Tippoo had detained as prisoners, in violation of the articles of a capitulation. Nevertheless, the British general relaxed not for one moment in his exertions to push the siege. General Abercrombie, whom the remissness of the Hyderabad and Mahratta troops had prevented from taking up the ground allotted to him, was directed to move to the north of the Cavery, and unite with head-quarters. This was effected in despite of the utmost exertions of Tippoo to intercept the baggage of the Bombay corps, and even to attack the corps itself in detail, while the most extraordinary activity was displayed in the arrangement of all matters appertaining

to a siege. To the extreme regret of all concerned, these included the destruction of the beautiful gardens which Hyder Ally had formed on the east of the town; but for this there was no help.

These arrangements being completed, a corps of cavalry was sent out to seek and hurry forward to the point of attack the tardy allies, while on the 18th possession was taken of both sides of the island, by pushing a detachment across the southern bank of the Cavery. The troops employed in this service moved briskly forward, and piercing the enemy's lines, created an extreme alarm, by penetrating into the camp and cutting to pieces upwards of one hundred men and horses. In the meanwhile Lord Cornwallis pushed his advances boldly on the opposite side of the citadel. While the enemy's attention was altogether withdrawn to the quarter where the false attack had been made, ground was broken and the first parallel formed on the north of the place, and the return of light saw Abercrombie in full march to complete the investment on the side as yet left open. Nothing could exceed the surprise of Tippoo when these objects became visible. It was to no purpose that he turned the whole of his artillery against the trenches; the siege was now begun in real earnest, and the alternative alone remained—of abiding its issue, or making haste to anticipate that catastrophe by submission.

Obstinate as he had hitherto been, Tippoo's

courage now failed him. The negotiations which, for some days back, he had conducted with equivocal faith, he renewed with not less eagerness than sincerity; and though he did not succeed in obtaining a pause in his adversary's operations, he had, at least, the satisfaction to discover that there existed then no indisposition to peace. At last, after the second parallel had been completed, and fifty pieces of cannon were ready to open their fire upon the citadel, it was announced, in general orders to the army, that the preliminaries of peace were signed. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the boundary of the Mahrattas should again extend to the Toombuddra. The Nizam was to possess all the country between the Kistna and the Pennar, including the forts of Gunjecotah and Cudapa; while the British obtained their share in three districts, the first on the western frontier of the Carnatic, comprehending the Baramahl and the lower Ghauts; the second, a district surrounding Dundegul; and the third, the dominions tributary to the Sultan on the coast of Malabar.

As this treaty deprived Tippoo of a full half of his dominions, it is not to be supposed that he submitted to it with a good grace. On the contrary, though he sent out his sons as hostages on the first opening of the negotiation, his pride received so deep a wound by certain clauses inserted into it, that the guns, after having been removed from the batteries, were again replaced. Prudence, however, and a conscious-

ness that resistance was hopeless, overcame at length the feelings of wounded majesty. He affixed his signature to the deed, and the troops being rewarded for their exertions by a donation of six months' batta, the army broke up, and returned by divisions to the different presidencies.

There are but few other events connected with this portion of our history of which it will be necessary to take notice. By the last treaty concluded with France, Pondicherry, with such other of the ancient possessions of that kingdom as appeared worth reclaiming, had been restored. The moment was now come when the relative situations of Great Britain and her rival demanded that these should again be recovered. The execution of Louis XVI., and the creation of a republic in France, having entirely altered the relation between the two parent states, war was, of course, declared in the colonies, and Tippoo had derived no trifling assistance in his recent struggle from the presence of French officers with his army. It was determined now to put a final stop to every thing like French influence in India. An army being equipped and placed under the command of Sir John Braithwaite, marched without delay against Pondicherry; and such was the wretched condition of the place, that it submitted after a short and ineffectual resistance. The consequence was, that Lord Cornwallis, who had hurried from Bengal under the idea that ample employment was provided for

him elsewhere, found that his labours in war were anticipated, and that no enemy remained to be attacked. He accordingly devoted a brief space to the final adjustment of the Nabob's affairs. The payments to the creditors of that shadow of royalty were reduced from twelve to six lacs annually; he was nominally restored to the management of his own revenues, though in reality little or no power was intrusted to him; and the most turbulent and refractory of his chiefs, the polygars of Madura and Tinevelly, were taken under the direct control of the English. These things being completed, and peace everywhere restored, Lord Cornwallis, after arranging for the temporary administration of the government, took his departure for England.

CHAPTER V.

View of the permanent settlement—Sir John Shore's administration—Affairs of the Deccan, of Oude, of Carnatic—Capture of the Dutch settlements.

WHILE thus vindicating in arms the honour of the British name, and rendering the Company's influence more and more widely felt among the native powers, Lord Cornwallis was not in other respects inattentive to the wishes of his employers, or indifferent to the happiness of the people over whom he had been appointed to preside.

Of the various systems of internal administration which were acted upon by his Lordship's predecessors, some account has been given in a previous volume of this work. It is not our intention to recur to these, further than by observing, that they equally failed in fulfilling the expectations of the home authorities, who persisted in attributing the absence of those pecuniary advantages on which they had been led to calculate, to every imaginable cause except the right one. Adhering to the opinion that the provinces ceded in 1765 abounded in sources of wealth, they laid to the charge of mismanagement on the part of their local ser-

vants the disappointments which both the people and the government experienced. Complaints and murmurs were accordingly heard on all sides. The measures pursued at Calcutta were represented as at once arbitrary towards the natives, and inefficient with regard to the interests of the Company. Each new governor, it was alleged, adopted a plan of his own, essentially different from that upon which his predecessor had acted; and hence, while the people were kept in a state of constant anxiety and doubt touching the burthens which they might be called upon to bear, the revenues of the country continued, year after year, to diminish. The landowners were oppressed; the peasantry were starving; law and justice ceased to exercise any control; and, above all, the profits of such as held East India stock fell rapidly away. Such was the state of public feeling when the bill of 1784 was passed; and Lord Cornwallis, armed with the powers which that bill was intended to convey, entered upon the duties of his office.

The act in question contained a clause, by which the Company were directed "to inquire into the alleged grievances of the landholders, and, if founded in truth, to afford them redress, and to establish permanent rules for the settlement and collection of the revenue, and for the administration of justice, founded on the ancient laws and real usages of the country." In perfect accordance with the spirit of this enactment was the letter of instructions which

the Court of Directors addressed to their new governor. They assured him that "the design of the legislature was to declare general principles of conduct, and not to introduce any novel system, or to destroy those rules and maxims of policy which prevailed in well-regulated periods of the native government." While they pointed out what they conceived to be mistakes in the conduct of his Lordship's predecessors, they enjoined upon him the exercise of great caution, as well while adjusting the financial affairs of his province, as in the introduction of improvements into the administration of civil and criminal law. With a view to the attainment of greater precision in the former of these cases, they recommended that it might, as far as possible, be ascertained "what were the rights and privileges of the zemindars and other landholders under the institutions of the Mogul or Hindoo government, and the services they were bound to perform;" while, with reference to the latter, they distinctly declared, "that they were actuated by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people, rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries, and applicable to another state of society." In a word, the letter in question, while it displays a strong natural desire to see the revenues of British India enhanced, evinces a laudable anxiety on the part of the Court that the people, from whom these revenues

were to be derived, should enjoy a government in every respect adapted to their condition, and agreeable to their social habits.

The nobleman to whom this important duty was intrusted, however highly distinguished he might be on other fields of action, knew nothing of India, except by report. He was, moreover, to use the language of one of the Company's ablest civil servants, " a theorist, and he went out to India surrounded by theorists." Whether swayed by Mr. Francis's celebrated minute, or convinced by the reasonings of men less able than Mr. Francis, he early discerned in his own mind an extraordinary resemblance between the ancient institutions of India and the feudal system of the middle ages; and he came in consequence, after a two years' imperfect inquiry, to the conclusion, either that the zemindars really were, or that they ought to be, the only landowners in the country. An order in council was accordingly issued, conferring upon them privileges as little in agreement with the customs of the country, as they proved injurious to the individuals themselves. It was declared that the British government acknowledged the full proprietary right of the zemindar to all the lands, whether waste or cultivated, within the bounds of his zemindarry; that the practice of holding periodical surveys for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of revenue due on such lands was abolished; that an average of the amount paid by each district during a certain number

of years last past should be taken, and that by it the demands of the treasury would be circumscribed. But as the government thus insured the proprietors against any increase of taxes co-extensive with an increase of cultivation, so the proprietors were bound in fairness to discharge with punctuality the burthens to which they were liable. It was therefore decreed, that the revenue should be paid monthly; that if the sums due on one month were not made good by an early day in the month following, the estate should be liable to attachment; and that, in the event of other measures failing, the whole, or such portion of the estate as might be sufficient to liquidate the debt, should, in due time, be sold. Such is a general outline of the permanent settlement, which was regarded at the moment as " a monument of human wisdom." A few words will suffice to show how it was calculated to affect both the people and their rulers.

We have described elsewhere, with sufficient accuracy, the state of society as it prevailed in India, both under the Hindoo and the Mogul dynasties. By reference to Chap. IX. of Vol. I., it will be seen, that during the vigour of the latter government, zemindars, polygars, and in many instances rajahs themselves, were mere administrators of revenue and police, remunerated for their services by a per centage on the dues collected, and occasionally by the enjoyment of a portion of land in jaghire. Landowners they might likewise be; indeed

there were few among them who possessed not private estates, situated either within their own districts or elsewhere; but over the districts themselves, they possessed no more proprietary right than does the sheriff of an English county over that portion of the empire in which, by command of his sovereign, he acts as chief civil magistrate. By one bold stroke of the pen, Lord Cornwallis revolutionised the whole of society throughout British India, confiscating the private properties of millions of ryots, and conferring them in perpetuity upon the zemindars. Nor is this all. In every district there were tracts of waste, of which the property was vested in the supreme government, and which the government was accustomed to portion out in lots among old soldiers and faithful servants as the reward of their intrepidity or diligence. All these were in like manner handed over to the zemindar, as well as numerous farms, dedicated to the maintenance of schools, pagodas, temples, and other public purposes. In one word, a state of society was created, such as had never existed before, either in India or in any other quarter of the globe.

But Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, while thus abandoning the only source of enlarged revenue which lies open, in India, to any government, were not, in their anxiety to create a landed aristocracy, wholly unmindful of the interests either of the Company's exchequer, or of other classes of their subjects. In the first place, the rental of each of the new estates

being divided into eleven shares, ten of these were claimed as jumma, or land-tax, while the remaining one was left to the zemindar, to be disposed of at his own pleasure. This, it will be seen, is not quite in agreement with our notions of the relative interests possessed in a landed property by the proprietor, and the government under which he lives; but it is far from being the sole anomaly with which the new arrangements were incumbered. It was commanded that the zemindar should in no instance exact from the cultivator a larger sum, under the head of rent, than might be equivalent to two-fifths of the produce of his farm. Thus the hands of the landowner were completely tied in his most important dealings with his tenantry; while, after all, he was permitted to enjoy only one-eleventh part of the rental at which his estates might be let.

We have spoken of the fear of an attachment as hanging continually over the head of the zemindar, and of the rigour with which punctuality in his payments was enforced. From this no accident, no misfortune—neither a failure of the crops, the insolvency of the renters, nor the accidents of war, could relieve him; inasmuch as the resources with which the government could be carried on, depended altogether on the regularity with which the land-tax was paid up. A plain man would naturally take it for granted that the government which dealt thus summarily with the landowner would, at all events, grant to him

the means of enforcing, by a like process, the rents due to him by his tenantry. Was the case so? By no means. Lord Cornwallis, deeply impressed with the notion that the natives of India uniformly abuse power whenever it is intrusted to them, would not consent to place the ryots at the mercy of the zemindar, but passed a regulation, requiring that the latter should recover whatever arrears might be due to him by the slow process of civil action. How far such an arrangement can be regarded as equitable in the case of men circumstanced as were his Lordship's landed proprietors, will be best understood when we come to consider the nature of those judicial improvements which kept pace with the fiscal reforms just described.

Step by step with these changes in the proprietary rights and financial settlement of British India went the substitution of an improved, in room of the ancient machinery provided for the general administration of law and the maintenance of order throughout the provinces. Hitherto the British authorities had touched with a delicate hand the original institutions of the country. These were, indeed, fallen much into disuse. It was the necessary effect of frequent wars and revolutions to bring this about; but they still existed; and on them, particularly on the village municipalities, government mainly relied for the preservation of internal peace and order. In like manner all their own arrangements were,

by preceding governors-general, made to resemble, in some of their most important features, the usages of the native sovereigns. Wherever English collectors, for example, were established to conduct the details of the revenue, they were invested at the same time with extensive powers as judges and magistrates; thus following up the principle which rendered every officer throughout the Mogul empire responsible for the well-being of the district over which he presided. Lord Cornwallis saw, both in the native institutions and in the favour shown to them by his predecessors, nothing of which he could approve. He resolved to abolish them at once, and to erect in their room a system, founded, if ever system was, "on abstract theories drawn from other countries, and applicable to another state of society." Acting upon this principle, he not only deprived the zemindars of all right of interference in the fiscal and judicial affairs of the districts, but destroyed the whole of those village municipalities under the management of which the people of India had lived for ages, and with the continuance of which their best prejudices were interwoven. Potails, curnums, the punchayet, with all its beneficial consequences, were alike deprived of their authority, to which, indeed, the people were prohibited from paying obedience, under penalty of the severe displeasure of the government.

Having thus cleared the way for future operations, the governor in council proceeded

to build up a novel fabric of civil polity, such as appeared to him at once in accordance with the spirit of his instructions, and agreeable to the rule of abstract right. His first measure was to separate for ever the department of justice from that of revenue, by depriving the collector of all authority as a judge, and vesting it in different hands. Misled, in part, by the title unfortunately bestowed on the provincial administrator of revenue,—forgetting that his office resembled more that of a commissioner of taxes than of a tax-gatherer,—Lord Cornwallis pronounced it to be wholly inadmissible that a man should, under any circumstances, decide in a case to which he must himself be a party. But if it were inconvenient to intrust him with judicial authority in questions affecting the revenue, much more anomalous would any arrangement be which gave him power as police magistrate and criminal judge. The collector, like the zemindar, accordingly ceased to be in any degree instrumental in supporting the authority of the government, his duties being henceforth restricted to the routine of receiving from the landowners their payments when due, and transmitting them to the treasury at Calcutta.

Meanwhile, the provinces being divided into a certain number of thannahs or zillahs, differing, of course, in point both of extent and population from one another, but in no instance containing less than two hundred thousand inhabitants, who were spread over a surface of

from four to six thousand square miles, there were erected in each of these two courts, in one of which sat the collector, to perform his simple functions; while the other was presided over by the judge and magistrate. To the latter functionary, assisted by a single European registrar, and a few native Moonsiffs, were the people of the whole district referred for the redress of wrongs, for protection against injury, and for the settlement of all their disputes, whether relating to the administration of the revenue, or to differences among themselves. The police again, with which order was to be preserved, consisted of twenty or thirty hired darogahs for each thannah; a body of men enlisted into the public service, without any regard to their local knowledge or respectability, and vested with powers commensurate to those of a village constable in England.

Were we to close our description here, the reader could scarcely fail to be convinced that machinery less adequate to accomplish the purposes for which it was intended, the wit of man has seldom devised; but we cannot close here. As if it had been the design of those who framed the system that it should prove as little efficient as possible, the authority of the zillah judge, both in civil and criminal cases, was exceedingly limited. He could give no sentence (no matter how insignificant in point of value the matter litigated might be) against which appeals were not allowed; while with persons accused of

offences beyond the pettiest breaches of the peace, he was prohibited from adopting any summary method of proceeding. These must, of necessity, be committed to gaol, where, till the arrival of the circuit court—an event which occurred twice a-year—they remained, like reputed felons in this country, in close confinement.

We have spoken of appeals as lying from the decision of the zillah judge in civil cases. These carried the appellant first to one of the provincial courts, of which there were four, erected at four different stations; namely, at Patna, Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Calcutta. If the point at issue involved property under a stipulated amount, the decision of the provincial court was final; if otherwise, a further appeal lay to the Sudder-dewanee-adawlut, or chief civil court at the capital. Last of all, the case, under certain restrictions, might be referred to his majesty in council; a provision not, indeed, very frequently acted upon, but far from being a dead letter. Thus, after having succeeded in obtaining judgment at the zillah court, the litigant was liable to be carried into three different courts of appeal, all of which, with the exception of the last, soon became overloaded with business, and, as a necessary consequence, useless as instruments of redress.

Absurd as these arrangements were, and absolutely at variance with the spirit of Lord Cornwallis's instructions, the method which

the Indian empire, was even more ridiculous, as well as much more reprehensible. Unable to comprehend how order should be preserved where there existed a mere written code of laws, he gave himself up to speculation and theory, till, recollecting that the Mohamedans had once held supreme authority over the greater part of the country, he came to the conclusion, that, in criminal cases at least, the laws of the Koran had been by them established and acted upon. Happy in this notion, and anxious to innovate as little as possible on ancient usages, he directed that criminal offences should henceforth be tried according to the spirit of the Mohamedan law; while for the management of civil affairs a species of two-fold jurisdiction was created,—disputes between Hindoos being determined by reference to the Shasters—between Mussulmans, by an appeal to their own scriptures and the explanations of legal commentators. As a necessary consequence upon this determination, the several courts were furnished with a body of native officers, whose business it was to explain to the judge points of law as they occurred, and to assist him in the formation of opinions which should accord with their interpretation of the Koran and the Shasters. Nor did the zeal of the governor-general cease to operate even here. The same mode of reasoning which led him to conclude that the Mohamedans had established the supremacy of their own laws in every village and town, induced him to believe

that they made use of their own language in administering these laws. Hence an order which rendered Persian the language of courts in which the natives of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were the litigants, and Englishmen the judges; while the regulations themselves, drawn up avowedly for the instruction both of judges and parties in matters of form, were all translated into the same tongue, of which, for the most part, both judges and litigants were ignorant!

While thus adhering, as he fondly believed, to primitive custom in matters of law and equity, Lord Cornwallis took for his model, with reference to points of detail, the institutions of his native country, as being, of course, more familiar to himself than any others. In this spirit suits were commanded to be carried on by bill, reply, rejoinder, and replication, all of them drawn up with as much attention to technicalities as if the questions were to be decided in Westminster Hall. Then again, there arose a race of vakeels, or native lawyers, through whom alone pleadings could be conducted; oaths, too, were multiplied in a remarkable degree; indeed, some of these—more particularly that by the Ganges water—were of such a nature as to preclude every honourable native from pronouncing them, were his life itself at issue. In few words, a system was produced which, violating every native prejudice, overthrowing every native institution, and contradicting every native idea of right and wrong,

failed to satisfy either the wants of the people or the hopes and expectations of their rulers; because, by endeavouring to engraft upon Eastern usages the forms and technicalities of English courts, it became as unintelligible to those for whose protection it was invented, as it was unmanageable in the hands of its authors and administrators.

The unavoidable consequence of such a state of things was a rapid accumulation of crime and misery, of which the clumsy tribunals, overloaded with business, could take no account. In the revenue department, in particular, the effects of *the perpetual settlement* soon began to show themselves in the most distressing colours. The zemindars, pressed on the one hand by the officers of government, and shut out on the other from all summary means of doing themselves justice in their dealings with the ryots, fell one by one into arrears. Their estates were, of course, attached and put up to auction. Indeed, so rapid was the decline of that class of persons, to whom Lord Cornwallis had looked as the regenerators of their country, that in 1795—that is to say, within two years after the permanent settlement was completed —nearly one-third of the zemindaries in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had changed hands. Meanwhile, litigation went on at a fearful rate, every petty cause being now carried into court; till the arrears on the several files became in the end so voluminous as to startle even the most sanguine admirers of the new system. At the date just

specified, there were in the district of Burdwan alone not fewer than thirty thousand suits pending before the zillah judge. Nor was the moral state of the country better, as far as the moral state of a country can be said to be operated upon by its police establishments and criminal judicatures. The gaols were crowded with prisoners; decoity, burglary, arson, theft, every crime against the well-being of the community, gained head, as if all the bonds of social life were severed, and men, like the wild beasts of the forest, lived only to prey one upon the other. It is impossible to read the accounts given by the Company's most intelligent servants of the state of the country, and of the causes of its moral decline, without receiving a full conviction, that, with the best intentions in the world, Lord Cornwallis, by his financial and judicial reforms, brought more injury upon British India than had been brought by all his predecessors put together.

Of the methods pursued from time to time with a view to correct these gross and glaring blunders, it may be worth while to give here, once for all, a general outline. The ruin of the zemindars soon began to alarm the government, who saw in the disruption of large estates the unavoidable overthrow of that order of things which it had been their great object to establish. They made an effort to arrest the progress of the evil by granting to the zemindars the same arbitrary power over the ryots which the government exercised over them. No great while

elapsed ere the effects of this regulation became visible. It was not now the zemindars alone, but the ryots also, who, day after day, suffered ejectment from their homes. Their goods were seized, their farming utensils sold, they themselves driven forth to seek shelter where they could; for though the courts were open to them, the long list of suits untried, as well as the ruinous expenses attending each, put it wholly out of the compass of the cultivator's means to seek for redress before the judges. The only class of persons, indeed, who throve upon the present system were the banyans and money-lenders of the capital, with the depraved wretches who surrounded our courts, or acted as menial servants to European functionaries.

Once more were the authorities dismayed, and once again they endeavoured to apply a remedy to evils, which were neither more nor less than the results of their own most faulty arrangements. Eager to obviate the disproportion which existed between the demand for judicial decisions and the occasions for them, they fell upon a device to which, we venture to say, the entire history of legislative proceedings can furnish no parallel. Instead of simplifying the process, and increasing the number of legal courts, a regulation was passed by which certain fees were demanded from all persons on the institution of suits; while various additional sums were exacted during the progress of these suits, by the imposition of taxes upon the proceedings. Even with these

checks upon the litigiousness of the people, however,—checks sufficiently severe, whatever may be thought of their justice,—the arrear of suits continued to augment, till it became next to impossible to find redress for a wrong, however flagrant, at the hands of the constituted authorities.

In this state things continued during many years, vice and misery increasing at a ratio which set all corrective measures at defiance; not that there ever existed the slightest inclination to administer justice with impartiality among the covenanted servants of the Company. Whatever may have been the results of their efforts, no person can deny to that body of men the praise of excellent intentions and unwearied zeal; but the system under which they acted was so pregnant with defects, as to render all their exertions unavailing. It was to no purpose that partial changes from time to time occurred. The entire scheme being founded on a persuasion that the natives were unworthy of trust—that they could not be allowed to participate, except in the most subordinate stations, in the labours of administration—that all their institutions were as corrupt in practice as they were false in theory; and that even Englishmen ought never to be placed in situations where interest and moral rectitude ran the smallest hazard of clashing—proved utterly unmanageable, for this plain and obvious reason, that the means of directing it aright were not attainable. We cannot pretend, in a

work like this, to illustrate by any examples the truth of this assertion; but the reader who is curious on the subject need only turn to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, and he will find that we have neither exaggerated the evils of the system, nor attributed them to a wrong cause.

It is a curious fact, that while India reaped these bitter fruits from the labours of Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, the despatches sent home by the supreme local authorities contained little else than assurances that the country was becoming more and more prosperous every day. It is not less remarkable, that along with these despatches came the very documents from which we have been enabled to lay before our readers the preceding detail of facts, which appear to have been cast aside by the Directors as so much waste paper, though full of the most important information. Meantime the permanent settlement, with its concomitant the judicial system, was gradually extended from province to province, till in the end it embraced not only the states immediately subject to the Bengal presidency, but a very large proportion of the British empire in India. Wherever it was introduced, the same consequences were found invariably to follow, till the truth became at last so palpable as to attract the notice both of the directors and the Board of Control. But it was now too late to repeal measures which had been in operation, throughout many districts, for twenty years. There all

traces of the native institutions were obliterated; and hence any attempt to restore them would have been productive of no less confusion than attended the first introduction of those customs which rose upon their ruins. But a stop was happily put to the further progress of the evil. At the last renewal of the charter, in 1813, a commission was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into and ameliorating such defects as might be found to exist in the Madras provinces; and its labours, though little forwarded by the authorities of the day, led to the happiest results. Wherever the native usages remained, efforts were made to replace them on their ancient footing; where such was not the case, palliatives, in agreement with the condition and prejudices of the people, were applied to established customs. Nevertheless, it is past dispute that the settlement of 1793, while it has cut off from the government all chance of deriving benefit from the progressive improvement of British India, has tended in no degree to gratify the people, or to reconcile them to our yoke. Our overwhelming military strength does indeed command their respect;—it saves them from the evils to which weaker states are exposed from the operations of marauding bands; and it is probable that they would not exchange the security which it affords for the more precarious state into which both their lives and properties would be cast by its removal. But to imagine that any people can be really attached to a foreign government which care-

fully excludes them from all offices of trust and honour is to entertain an opinion of human nature very different from that which experience is apt to create. Enough, however, of these dry discussions. We return to our narrative.

The year 1793, while pregnant with these great events abroad, was rendered memorable in the annals of the East India Company, by witnessing a renewal of their charter, then on the eve of expiring. In effecting this object, very few alterations, and these in every respect inconsiderable, were introduced into the plan of 1788. The Directors were, indeed, authorised to raise a sum of two hundred thousand pounds as stock, while they defrayed five hundred thousand pounds of debt, and awarded another five hundred thousand pounds to the nation; and the trade to India was so far opened, that private individuals were permitted to employ three thousand tons of shipping annually in carrying on the traffic. But except in these particulars, and the power granted to his Majesty of appointing to offices in the Board of Control persons not of the privy council, no innovation was made upon the device which claimed Mr. Pitt as its author. The charter was again renewed for a period, as before, of twenty years.

On the retirement of Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Shore, a meritorious servant of the Company, who had passed through almost every gradation in civil rank, and then acted as senior member of council, succeeded, as a matter of routine,

to the office of governor. As his character for probity and honour stood deservedly high, he was not superseded, as he expected to be, from home, but being elevated to the dignity of the Bath, received in due time a confirmation of his authority in the customary manner. Sir John Shore's views were decidedly pacific. He was aware that in this respect they accorded with the wishes of his employers, and he devoted his best energies to the task of disentangling the politics of British India, as far as might be practicable, from those of the independent native powers. Yet he had scarcely entered upon the active duties of his office when he found himself involved in a negociation with the Nizam, which had well nigh forced him to abandon the line of conduct which he had determined to pursue. As the circumstances which arose out of that negociation operated long and powerfully on the interests of the British empire in India, it will be necessary to state in few words both its origin and object.

Though triumphant over Tippoo, whom he had deprived of the better half of his dominions, Lord Cornwallis continued still to hold him in such respect, that, on the close of hostilities in 1792, he endeavoured to conclude a treaty of mutual support and defence, not only with the Nizam, who had aided him in the recent struggle, but with the Mahrattas. He found the Nizam well disposed to enter into his views, whereas the Mahrattas, more jealous of the English

than of Tippoo, met his proposition with delay and evasions. They, indeed, brought forward a counter-proposition, which, among other stipulations, included a recognition of the claims of the Poonah government in Mysore for chout —a claim for which the treaty of Seringapatam had made no provision, and which both the English and the Nizam felt themselves bound to reject. A vexatious and procrastinated negociation ensued, which ended in a declaration by the British government that it was satisfied with the verbal acquiescence of the Nizam, and a vague assurance from the Poonah state that it would always be ready to act agreeably to existing engagements. To this state affairs were brought by Lord Cornwallis on his resignation. Sir John Shore found them a good deal altered in substance, though ostensibly as loose and unsettled as they had been twelve months previous to his assumption of the reins of government.

No great while elapsed after the rejection of the Mahratta proposition ere it was discovered at Hyderabad that the court of Poonah meditated some hostile aggression on the provinces subject to the Nizam's dominion. It was even said that a treaty was in progress between the Peishwah and Tippoo for the total subjugation of the Deccan; and the general conduct of the two powers tended in no degree to remove the suspicion. Under these circumstances, the Nizam made haste to call upon Sir John Shore for that support which his pre-

decessor had virtually promised, but which Sir John, led away by a mistaken desire of avoiding all hazard of a war, however remote, refused to afford. It would appear, indeed, that he was ready, in case of emergency, to sacrifice the Nizam altogether, under the idea that the Mahrattas would in such a case present an effectual bar to Tippoo's ambition; at all events, he considered that he was not bound to interpose further than by remonstrance, unless Tippoo were really in arms; nor could either the entreaties of the Nizam, or the representations of the resident, Sir John Kennaway, divert him from that determination. The consequence was an immediate preparation on the part of Scindiah, who then exercised unlimited control over the counsels of the Peishwah, to overrun the Deccan, as the first step towards the undermining of English ascendency, and the substitution of an universal Mahratta empire in its room.

With the war which ensued upon this state of policy we have, comparatively speaking, little concern. Enough is done when we state that the hostile views of the Poonah government, though suspended for a brief space by the death of Scindiah, were resumed on the triumph of his nephew, Dowlut Rao Scindiah, over the faction of Nana Furnaveze; and that the Nizam, who had pushed an army as far in advance as Beder, risked an action there, and sustained a reverse. He retired from the field of battle into a ravine, where the troops of

Scindiah invested him; and he was, at the end of a fortnight, compelled to purchase his escape by signing a disastrous peace. The particulars of that treaty were not fully known; but besides establishing the ancient claim to chout, the Mahrattas wrested from him a country of thirty-five lacs annual revenue, in which was situated the fortress of Dowlatabad; received from him a promise of three crore of rupees, by way of indemnity for expenses, and carried off his minister, Azim ul Omrah, the steady friend of the English, as a hostage for his future good conduct.

Irritated by this misfortune, which he attributed to the duplicity of the English, the Nizam gave the first proof of his dissatisfaction by dismissing from his service two battalions of British sepoys which he had hitherto maintained, on the plea that they were perfectly useless, having refused to act against his foreign enemies. This step of itself was little likely to meet the approbation of the Bengal government; but when it was found in addition that he began to foster and enlarge a French corps, which, under the command of M. Raymond, had followed his standard ever since the war with Tippoo, an extraordinary degree of jealousy arose. Sir John Shore, taking advantage of a movement of that corps towards Kurpah, on the Company's frontier, sent to require that it should be withdrawn, and threatened, in the event of a refusal, to march an English army into the Deccan. It was, perhaps, fortunate

for both parties, that at this juncture Ali Jah, the Nizam's eldest son, rose in rebellion against his father, who made haste to solicit the aid of his ancient allies. An armed support was freely afforded; and till the rebellion was suppressed, Raymond suffered neglect, while the English were treated with favour: but no sooner was peace restored than the Nizam's former prejudices returned, and the Frenchman received every encouragement to recruit and improve his force. It was to no purpose that the English endeavoured to counteract Raymond's influence by encouraging adventurers from their own nation to pursue a similar course. Either the persons engaging in the enterprise were neglected, or their talents for making head in such a race, were inferior to those of their rival; and hence, while M. Raymond's corps grew up into a regular and well-appointed army, theirs melted away, and at last wholly disappeared. Meanwhile, there occurred at Poonah certain events, which, without in any degree affecting the Nizam's position towards the English, relieved him from a portion of those disabilities to which his rupture with the Mahrattas had rendered him subject. The young Peishwah, Mahdoo Row, died; and during the contest which ensued between Nana Furnaveze and Scindiah relative to a successor, Azim ul Omrah recovered his freedom. This was followed, in spite of Scindiah's ultimate success, by a remission of three-fourths of the payments and cessions to which, by the recent treaty, the

Nizam stood liable; and something like a good understanding between the rival courts was for a while established.

It was not, however, in the affairs of Hyderabad and Poonah alone that the new governor-general saw himself called upon to interfere. The internal condition of Oude, impoverished by mismanagement on the part of the native authorities not less than by the heavy expenses attending the subsidiary treaty with the English, had for some time excited uneasiness at Calcutta; insomuch that both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore used their best exertions to introduce, by diplomacy and remonstrances, an effective reform into the civil and military establishments of the Nabob. But Azoph ul Dowla, a crafty as well as a profligate prince, resisted these endeavours, and sought, by availing himself of a revolution in Rohilcund, to obtain resources from which to meet the public demands, without interfering with his own private enjoyments. Such was the position of affairs, alike unsatisfactory to the Bengal government and mischievous to the inhabitants of Oude, when Azoph ul Dowla died, after providing for the succession in the person of Mirza Ally, acknowledged by him as his son, though generally supposed in circles beyond the palace gates to be supposititious.

The new Nabob was not permitted to ascend the musnud without opposition. Saadut Ally, the brother of the deceased sovereign, supported by a powerful party, protested against

the measure, and appealed, on the ground of Mirza's spurious origin, to the British government; which, however, after a brief space spent in deliberation, decided that the late nabob's disposition ought to hold good. But the remonstrances of the adverse faction continued so vehement, that Sir John Shore determined to investigate the matter on the spot. With this view he proceeded to Lucknow, where he soon ascertained that the extravagancies of the young sovereign were very great, and that general opinion leaned strongly to the side which the remonstrants had taken. Sir John began to doubt both the policy and the justice of his late decision. Every day brought him fresh reason to repent of it, and he hastened in the end to correct the error by deposing Mirza Ally, and elevating Saadut to the vacant throne. It must not, however, be imagined that in coming to this conclusion Sir John Shore was swayed entirely by the disinterested desire of doing what was right. No doubt that desire was felt; but he took care, while indulging it, to stipulate for the performance of certain conditions, more advantageous, perhaps, to the English, than agreeable to the new nabob. A treaty, in fact, was concluded, by which Saadut Ally, besides making over to the Company Allahabad with other important places, undertook to raise his annual subsidy to seventy-six lacs of rupees. It was also arranged that the force to be maintained by the Company within the territory of Oude

should in no case fall short of ten thousand men; and that if, at any time, there should arise a necessity for increasing the contingent beyond thirteen thousand, the expense attending such increase should be defrayed by the nabob. These, together with certain pecuniary grants as compensation for expenses incurred, and the settling of a pension upon the deposed sovereign, formed the main articles in a treaty which rendered Oude, to all intents and purposes, a dependency on the English empire.

While these things were going on in the north, Lord Hobart, the governor of Fort St. George, exerted himself to bring about a more satisfactory arrangement with the Nabob of Arcot than that which Lord Cornwallis had established with his father. To attain this end, he proposed that Amrut ul Omrah, who, in October, 1795, succeeded to the throne, should give up into the hands of the English all care of collecting the revenues and administering the internal government of the districts which were pledged as security for his kists, an arrangement by which it was contended, that while an increased punctuality would be secured in his payments and himself delivered from the tyranny of usurers, the people would be relieved from the grievous oppression under which they had long groaned. It is past dispute that the people did suffer fearfully,—the unavoidable consequence of the nabob's careless habits and the transfer of his au-

thority to banyans and money-lenders; yet was he stoutly opposed to the projected arrangement, though rendered less distasteful by an offer on Lord Hobart's part to abandon claims which the government had upon him to the amount of thirty lacs. In like manner he refused to give up the nominal right of sovereignty over the wealthier poligars, notwithstanding that the Company were authorized by the treaty of 1792 to collect from their countries the tribute as it became due. Lord Hobart became indignant, and proposed, as security for the payment of what was called the cavalry loan, to occupy with a military force the district of Tinevelli, but to this, as well as to the placing of English garrisons in the forts of the Carnatic, the supreme government stood opposed. A warm and somewhat intemperate correspondence ensued between the two governments, which, however, led to no modification in the opinions of either; and the governor-general being resolved to accomplish nothing by violent means, the affairs of the Carnatic remained in the state to which his predecessor had brought them.

There remain but one or two matters in addition to these of which it will be necessary to take notice, as distinguishing the pacific but not unimportant administration of Sir John Shore. The Dutch having been drawn into a war with England, as allies of revolutionized France, orders were issued to reduce their settlements in the Indian seas; and in 1795, an armament was fitted out for that purpose at

Madras. Their stations in Ceylon, Malacca, and Buda, fell without the occurrence of any incident which seems to demand repetition. Their possessions in the Peninsula shared the same fate; and Cochin, though more gallantly defended, became in like manner a prize to the conqueror. Of the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, however important as affecting the possessions of the Indian empire, we are not called upon to give an account; while of the expeditions fitted out in 1797, for the capture of the Mauritius and the Spanish settlements in Manilla, it may be sufficient to observe that they came to nothing. Intelligence of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the attitude which Tippoo began to assume, equally induced the authorities to countermand them, after a very considerable expense had been incurred, and the first division of the force intended to operate against Manilla had proceeded as far as Penang, the point of rendezvous.

Such is a brief outline of the principal events which occurred from the year 1793 to the beginning of 1798; a period of time to all appearance tranquil and serene, though in reality pregnant with ample sources of confusion in the future. To these we shall draw the reader's attention by and by. In the mean while we cannot better close the present chapter than by stating that Sir John Shore, raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned his government, at the date last mentioned, and sailed for England.

CHAPTER II.

State of India on Lord Mornington's arrival—War with Tippoo—Seringapatam taken—The Partition Treaty—New alliance with the Nizam—with the Nabob of Oude and Surat—The Rajah of Tanjore deposed—Negotiations with Omrut ul Omrah—his treachery—his death—Hussain Ali set aside—The Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic assumed.

The individual appointed to succeed Lord Teignmouth was the Earl of Mornington—afterwards Marquis Wellesley—a nobleman whose talents not less than his rank enabled him to enter upon the important duties of his office with peculiar advantage. He arrived at Calcutta on the 26th of April, 1798, a period of unexampled danger and difficulty to the British interests in India. The hostile designs of Tippoo Sultaun, long suspected, though hitherto disguised, were ripe for execution. At the courts both of Scindiah and of the Nizam a French party was paramount. The policy of the Poonah government, completely controlled by the former of these chiefs, could not be regarded as friendly; while that of Berar, jealous from the first of the growing power of the English, was known to be adverse. From Oude, again, still agitated by recent

changes, continual complaints came in; the new sovereign professing himself incompetent to maintain his authority unless supported by the power which had conferred it on him, while Omrut ul Omrah, irritated by the late attempts to obtain from him a modification of the treaty into which Lord Cornwallis had entered, continued more and more to exhaust the resources of the Carnatic by anticipating his revenues, and consigning the people to the mercy of usurers. To sum up all, the treasury was empty, the expenses of so many transmarine expeditions having drained its contents; and of the army of the Coromandel Coast, which had been chiefly employed on these expeditions, a considerable portion was still absent, while the remainder was in a state appproaching to disorganization.

The mind of Lord Wellesley, at the period of which we write, was eminently qualified to grapple with difficulties, and he immediately applied himself to meet and overcome those by which he saw that he was beset. His first attention was turned to Tippoo, between whom and the authorities at the Isle of France an active communication was understood to be kept up. It is true that the means at the disposal of the French governor were limited, and the measures adopted in using them the reverse of judicious; yet Lord Wellesley felt that it would be the height of absurdity on his part to wait till these should be increased, instead of putting a curb on the ambition of Tippoo

while he yet stood alone: for he was not ignorant of the great anxiety of the French to undermine the British power in India, as well as of the steps which were taken in all parts of the world in order to accomplish that object. He knew that they had emissaries both in Persia and at Constantinople; he received frequent reports of their endeavours to open out some passage, either by sea or land, eastward, and the influence which they had contrived to establish by means of their armed bands in the service both of Scindiah and the Nizam, could but excite in him just apprehensions. He saw, in short, that the means which the enemy possessed for the attainment of an object which they professed not to keep secret, though irregular and difficult of combination, were far from contemptible; and that they would become positively formidable if suffered to gather consistency by the inattention or timidity of the local government.

Deeply impressed with this conviction, and aware that Tippoo was intriguing not only at the Mauritius, but also at Poonah, Cabul, Persia, and Turkey, Lord Wellesley issued instructions for the assembling of two armies; one in the Carnatic, another in the territories subject to the Bombay Presidency, in support of those measures of diplomacy of which he considered it judicious, in the first instance, to try the effect. In the meanwhile he endeavoured to renew that triple alliance with the Peishwah and the Nizam, which it had been the design of

Lord Cornwallis to establish, but which late events had set aside. His advances to the former were peremptorily repelled, through the overbearing influence of Scindiah, who having abandoned his own provinces in Hindostan, had established himself at Poonah, and kept the young peshwah in a state of abject thraldom. Neither was he more successful for a time at the court of Hyderabad, notwithstanding the partiality entertained for the English by Azim ul Omrah, inasmuch as the Nizam continued to look back with indignation upon the treatment which he had received from Sir John Shore; and was justly apprehensive that, by dismissing his French adherents, and enlarging the subsidiary force offered to him by the governor-general, his kingdom would degenerate into a mere province of the British empire. The reasoning of the minister, however, supported as it was by a dread of Tippoo Sultaun, at length prevailed; and the Nizam did agree to accept the alliance of the English on their own terms. But as the period drew nigh which was to witness the accomplishment of these terms, the mind of the Nizam more and more misgave him. M. Raymond's legion, now commanded by M. Perron—another of those numerous adventurers whom France sent out to keep alive her interests with the native powers —had, he remembered, served him faithfully during many years; and being enlarged to the amount of fourteen thousand men, it constituted at this time the chief military strength

of his kingdom. He was therefore exceedingly reluctant to suppress it, and strove, even to the last, to evade a compliance with that stipulation which it was the main design of Lord Wellesley's government to see carried into effect. When it became known, however, that the four additional battalions which he had consented to accept were across the frontier, and that their commander was resolved to execute his mission, should he be compelled to have recourse to violence, the indecision of the Nizam ceased. The French corps was surrounded; the troops were commanded to withdraw their obedience to their officers; and the officers themselves, taking refuge in the English lines, ceased at once to be formidable. It was immediately broken up, and the men either disbanded or transferred to regiments of a different description.

Encouraged by this success, which the backwardness of the Mahrattas to entertain his proposals scarcely served to cloud, Lord Wellesley hurried forward his warlike preparations on the Coromandel coast; of which the reported landing of the French army in Egypt, and his own suspicions as to the ultimate object of their enterprise, rendered the necessity more and more urgent. Meanwhile, however, his courtesy towards Tippoo Sultaun underwent no diminution. He replied mildly and complacently to certain claims which the Mysorean set up of superiority over some villages belonging to the

Rajah of Coorg; and even the expostulations in which he indulged upon the nature of the connexion which Tippoo had formed with France were the reverse of irritating. Tippoo, however, paid no heed to these complaints, not so much as condescending to answer the letter in which they were contained,—nor was it till a harsher tone had been assumed, and Lord Wellesley set out for Madras, in order to superintend the preparations there, that he vouchsafed to notice either the accusations or the demands of the British governor. There was nothing satisfactory either in the time or matter of his reply; and hence, after repeated attempts had been made, without effect, to awaken him to a right view of his own situation, and it was ascertained, beyond the possibility of doubt, that communications between Seringapatam and the Mauritius were becoming more frequent, the forces which it had cost so much labour, and required so many months to assemble, were directed to take the field.

The fate of the second Mysorean war has been too often and too recently told, to render any minute relation of its incidents either necessary or advisable in this place. On the 3d of February, 1799, General Harris*, with the army of Madras, broke up from his quarters; and on the 3d of March, having been joined by the Nizam's contingent, began to penetrate into the enemy's country. The force of which

* Afterwards Lord Harris.

he was at the head was at once the most numerous and the most complete that ever followed the English standard in India. It comprehended not fewer than twenty thousand soldiers, of whom two thousand six hundred and thirty-five were cavalry, four thousand three hundred and eighty-one Europeans, while the Nizam's regular troops, inclusive of six thousand five hundred British sepoys, fell little short of twenty thousand more. In addition to this, the army of Bombay, nearly seven thousand strong, of whom one thousand six hundred and upwards were Europeans, stood ready to co-operate with General Harris, from its position in the country of Coorg; while a third corps, under Colonels Read and Brown, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, at once threatened the enemy in flank, and secured an ample supply of provisions to the main body of the invaders.

It is a curious fact, that, scarcely anticipating any other result, Tippoo seems to have made no extraordinary preparations for this war. His army was, indeed, in good order, and far from despicable in point of numbers; but it was neither stronger nor better appointed, when General Harris passed the frontier, than it had been during many months previously. He hastened, however, to turn it to account, and wisely calculating, that success in the outset would both encourage his own people and intimidate his opponents, he left General Harris to pursue his march unmolested, and directed his first efforts against the Bombay

division. He attacked it, on the 5th of March, with great fury, at a place called Seedasere. Had his prudence been equal to his courage, he would have, doubtless, obtained a serious advantage; for the brigade with which he first fell in was entirely without support, and, if taken unaware, might have been destroyed. But the consequence of a premature disclosure of his plans, by pitching tents instead of bivouacking in the vicinity of Colonel Montresor's detachment, was to put both the men and their commander on their guard; and Tippoo, though he surrounded three native battalions, and repeatedly charged them with his best troops, was, after an arduous contest, repulsed. He immediately retreated to Seringapatam, where, for some days, he remained in a state of miserable anxiety but little alleviated even by hope.

The progress of General Harris, unmolested as he was by any enemy, was slow; for he was encumbered with equipage, an enormous train of battering guns, and all that host of followers and attendants which gives to an Indian camp its peculiar character. A good deal of confusion, too, occurred, which caused the march to be suspended on four different occasions; and of military stores so great a quantity was destroyed as "to excite some degree of alarm at this early period of the campaign*." Still there was no lack either of judg-

* Wilks.

ment or skill in the plan or conduct of the operation. The enemy, deceived by General Harris's dispositions, destroyed the forage, and filled up the wells on one route, while the British army pursued, in comparative comfort, another; nor was the slightest interruption offered to them till after the tanks at Achel had been seized, and a position taken up between Sultaupet and Malavelly. Here Tippoo, on the 27th of March, risked an action, which ended, as might have been anticipated, in favour of the invaders. But the superior equipment of the Sultan enabled him to make a rapid retreat, to interrupt or harass which all attempts would have been useless; and hence, though his loss was severe, amounting to more than a thousand men, the courage of his followers was not broken; they fell back, and threw themselves on a new line, from which they expected that they would be able to harass the English rear, while pursuing, as it was expected that they would, the road which Lord Cornwallis had followed in the campaign of 1791.

The stubbornness with which he had hitherto prosecuted the war seems first to have degenerated with Tippoo Sultaun into despair, when, on the 30th, it was discovered, not only that General Harris had avoided the route of which the Mysoreans held the command, but that the British army, with all its train, was across the Cavery, and closing securely upon the capital. He summoned his chief officers to the

presence, and, without circumlocution, said to them, " We have arrived at our last stage, what is your determination?"—" To die along with you," replied they; upon which, after determining to intercept the English on their march, and put all to the hazard of a battle, these devoted men bade each other farewell, bathed in tears. Even now, however, they were baffled in their designs; again General Harris deceived them by avoiding to pass into the island, and taking up the ground which General Abercrombie occupied in 1792; where the front which he presented was so formidable, that the Mysoreans could not venture to molest him; they withdrew into the lines, and the business of the siege began.

It is well known that, though foiled in a night-attack, Colonel Wellesley*, on the morning of the 6th of April, drove the enemy from a water course, which enabled the British general to establish his outposts within one thousand eight hundred yards of the citadel.

This first success was followed by similar operations in different parts of the line; while four regiments of cavalry being detached for the protection of General Stuart's column, the Bombay division took up its ground before the place on the 14th. Meanwhile, Tippoo had made a second effort to obtain, at least, a suspension of hostilities; and he repeated the experiment in the course of the next fort-

* Now Duke of Wellington.

night on two separate occasions, but it was now too late. The approaches were pushed with vigour, to which the discovery that his provisions began to fall short, lent, in the mind of General Harris, an additional stimulus, and the last parallel being completed on the 20th, by the end of a week the batteries were armed, and on the 30th they opened their fire with prodigious effect. On the 3d of May a breach was effected in one of the bastions that protected the western face of the fortress, which was pronounced by the engineers to be practicable; and, at noon on the day following, the assault was given. It succeeded in an incredibly short space of time, and Tippoo himself perished in the struggle. All opposition ceased, and the empire, which Hyder had with so much labour erected, fell to the ground.

It became now a question of pressing importance, how the territory which the arms of England had acquired should be disposed of. To keep possession in the name of the Company would, it was imagined, at once violate the law, which forbade wars of conquest, and by extending their authority over too wide a surface, weaken the real power of the English in India. On the other hand, the establishment of one of Tippoo's sons on his father's throne must inevitably perpetuate the system of irritation and jealousy which the house of Hyder, from its origin, had pursued towards the English. Lord Wellesley, though little swayed by the timid counsels which then

obtained favour elsewhere, felt that there were difficulties here which it would not be easy to overcome. He, therefore, determined to dismember the kingdom; to retain in his own hands those districts which lay along the sea-shore, or interrupted in any way the communication between different provinces already subject to the Company—to make over a second portion to the Nizam—to offer a third to the Peishwah—and to raise to the government of the portions which might be left the descendant of that line of rajahs which Hyder Ally had set aside. The plan was no sooner arranged than it was carried into execution. The district of Canara, including the whole line of coast that lay contiguous to the Company's possessions in Malabar and the Carnatic; the castles and posts at the head of the Ghauts or different passes which lead into Mysore, as well as the fortress and island of Seringapatam, were all committed to the charge of English superintendents. Gourunconda, Gooty, and other tracts of country, which, bordering upon his own dominions, were doubly valuable to him, became the property of the Nizam; while Harponelly, Soonda, Annagoondy, and various provinces besides, he proposed to make over to the Mahrattas. Nevertheless, as the Peishwah, by refusing to take part in the war, possessed no claim of right to reap any advantages from its results, Lord Wellesley resolved that so large an accession of territory should not be assigned to him

unconditionally, but that it should form the basis of a new treaty into which he proposed to enter with the Mahratta empire.

This done, Kistna Raj Oudawer, a child of three years old, the lineal representative of the ancient family of Mysore, was raised to the throne of a principality neither less extensive nor less powerful, in spite of recent events, than that over which his forefathers had reigned. The entire superintendence of his affairs was, at the same time, committed to Purneah, a brahmin of great ability and reputation,—who, entering into treaties with the English, confirmed the arrangement made in favour of the confederates, agreed to settle a pension on the children of Tippoo, and accepted a modified subsidiary alliance, which, while it secured to the rajah the benefit of English protection, placed the whole strength of his country at the disposal of the Company. By this latter arrangement it was agreed, that the English should maintain a force expressly for the defence of the new sovereignty, and place garrisons in such strongholds as they might desire to occupy; while the rajah paid an annual tribute of seven lacs of rupees, in liquidation of the expenses thereby incurred. Finally, the sons of Tippoo, on whom a liberal pension was settled, set out under a military escort to Velore, where, though a mild species of restraint was of necessity imposed upon them, their treatment was in all respects creditable to the conqueror.

Having thus satisfactorily arranged the affairs of Mysore, the governor-general directed his attention to those of the Deccan, with a view to place on a more convenient footing the relation which already subsisted between the Nizam and the British government. He was induced to seek this, partly because of the ill-disguised hostility of the Mahratta chiefs, partly because the well-known imbecility of the Nizam rendered him liable at any moment to be made the tool of persons more subtle and more enterprising than himself. Hitherto the subsidiary force supplied by the authorities at Calcutta had been maintained by a monthly stipend; of which the payment was of course liable to be interrupted in the event either of treachery or improvidence on the part of the Hyderabad government. It was the object of Lord Wellesley to obtain a commutation of such stipend for land, as well as to press upon the Nizam the acceptance of an enlarged contract, and by a general revision of the terms of the alliance to render the Deccan more dependent than it already was upon the Company. Lord Wellesley pressed his scheme with equal firmness and address, till he brought it to a conclusion every way satisfactory to himself. By the treaty of Oct. 12, 1800, the Nizam ceded to the English all the territory which he had acquired by the pacifications of 1792 and 1799. He received, in exchange, a discharge from the payment of his monthly subsidies,—an increase both in

infantry and cavalry to the troops previously lent to him, an assurance of protection against every foreign enemy, and a pledge, that the English should not, unless expressly invited, interfere in any arrangements which he might make with his own subjects. Thus the Toombuddra became the boundary between the two states, and while the Nizam engaged that he would enter upon no war, nor contract any engagements with foreign powers, without consulting his allies and obtaining their sanction, the English guaranteed to him the continued enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and territories of which he might then be in possession.

The treaty in question contained a clause by which it was stipulated, that in the event of the Peishwah, Ragojee Bhoonslah, rajah of Berar, or Dowlut Rao Scindiah, desiring to be a party to the arrangement, he or they should be admitted to all its advantages. The use to which Lord Wellesley turned this condition was to make advances to the Peishwah, whom the prospect of obtaining that accession to his territory which it was intended to offer would, it was presumed, induce to meet them with favour. The event proved that, in arriving at this conclusion, his lordship was misled by his own views of what would tend to the advantage of the Peishwah. That prince, however disposed he might himself be to fall in with the wishes of the English, (and certain loose propositions which he had voluntarily made on

the subject showed that he was at least not adverse to them,) lay at this period entirely under the control of Scindiah. But Scindiah, guided partly by his own prejudices, partly swayed by the counsels of his French officers, steadily resisted all approach to intimacy with the English; and the proposals which Lord Wellesley had esteemed it judicious to make were, for the present, rejected. The consequence was that the remaining portion of Tippoo's late dominions was divided between the English and the Nizam; and there were maintained between the courts of Poonah and Bengal only the common courtesies of states not positively at variance.

While these great events were in progress, a portion of the troops left to garrison the new provinces found employment under Colonel Wellesley, in following the course of Dhoondee Wahag, a freebooter, whose history, like that of Eastern adventurers in general, comprises a strange mixture of crimes and hardihood. A Mahratta by lineage, though born within the territory of Mysore, he performed his first military service under Bistnoo Pundit during the war against Hyder; and became at its close the leader of an independent band which subsisted by plunder, and acknowledged no other law than that of force. While thus employed, he entered into a secret intrigue with Tippoo, which he conducted with so little caution, that his intended treachery came to the knowledge of the Peishwah, by whom an army was sent

against him, and he sustained a total defeat. He fled to Seringapatam; but refusing to become a mussulman, the bigot Tippoo cast him into prison, where he lay, chained to the wall of a dungeon, till the city fell.

The use which this singular man made of his liberty was to gather round him a rabble of twenty thousand horse and foot, with which he retired to the northward, committing, where-ever he went, the greatest excesses, and proclaiming himself, in the pompous language of the East, king of the world. Colonel Wellesley, with the army of Mysore, instantly marched against him. The campaign was curious—full of interest, and marked by singular rapidity of movement on both sides; but it was not of long duration. After driving the enemy from place to place, and more than once striking at his baggage, Colonel Wellesley came up with him on the 11th of September at Conagull, beyond the Malpurba, where a sharp cavalry action was fought, in which Dhoondee's troops were entirely routed. The marauder himself fell in the battle; and the rebellion, if such it deserve to be called, was suppressed. But the evils incident to the overthrow of a great empire, and the introduction among men less than half civilized of customs altogether novel to them, was not on that account, nor by such means, appeased. Great patience and persevering exertions were necessary to engraft order upon this state of chaos,—a work which might not have been accomplished at all, had other

than abilities of the highest class been applied to it.

In the mean while, Lord Wellesley, who, on the conclusion of the war, had retired to Calcutta, was busily engaged in maturing other devices, not less important, either in their immediate or remote consequences, than the subjugation of Tippoo, or the new treaty with the Nizam. The disorganized condition of Oude, of which the revenues were eaten up by an overgrown and inefficient military establishment, had early induced him to propose to the Nabob the adoption of a better system,—namely, the dismissal of his undisciplined hordes, which added neither to his importance nor his respectability, and the acceptance in their room of an addition to the British contingent awarded to him by Lord Teignmouth. He was the more urgent on this head that rumours of an invasion from Caubul were rife in Hindustan; and Scindiah having withdrawn his forces in order to assist him in establishing his influence at Poonah, the care of protecting Oude, and indeed of Delhi, and the provinces beyond, devolved in a great measure upon the Nabob and his allies. At first the Nabob lent to these proposals a favourable ear; though his disposition afterwards underwent a change, in 1799, the resident was astonished by receiving from him an intimation, that he desired to abdicate the throne of which he professed to be weary. Strong doubts were, for a while, entertained of his sincerity. The resi-

dent then remonstrated with him on the impolicy of the proceeding; till finding that he was in earnest, an announcement to that effect was made to Lord Wellesley, who resolved to turn the circumstance to the advantage of his own government. The Nabob was no longer opposed in his project, though every engine was brought into play for the purpose of inducing him to resign in favour of the English; but for such a measure he replied that he was not prepared. He wished, indeed, to be free from the cares of office, but desired to commit them to his son; and seeing that the governor-general refused to sanction that step, he declined to relinquish his authority at all. Lord Wellesley was indignant with what he believed to be a course of wanton deceit and prevarication; and resolved, in consequence, to press with redoubled energy the adoption of those improvements, to interrupt which he averred that so gross a delusion had been put upon him. He now insisted upon the dismissal of the Nabob's army, on the assignment of a considerable tract of country in lieu of the subsidy hitherto paid, and on the right of the British government to increase at pleasure the number of troops which it should judge necessary to maintain for the defence of Oude. The Nabob remonstrated and protested, conducting his case with great ingenuity and much apparent candour; but where there is power on one side and not on the other, the parties in any negociation stand on very unequal grounds. Lord

Wellesley of course prevailed, so that while a portion of Oude, about one-third of its original extent, was secured in absolute sovereignty to Saadut Ali, the remainder, comprising all the frontier districts, of which the estimated revenue amounted to one crore and thirty-six lacs of rupees, passed into the hands of the English. It is scarcely necessary to add that, even within his reserved principality, the Nabob became a complete dependent on his allies, who dictated to him such measures of improvement in his internal administration as seemed to them conducive to the general welfare of the people; nor did the triumphs of the governor-general in this quarter of India end here. The small principality of Furruckabad had long been dependent on Oude, almost to the same degree in which Oude depended on the East India Company. It was now under the superintendence of a regent, the uncle of the sovereign, who was a minor. With him a negociation was opened, and in spite of the protestations of the young monarch, he, too, became a pensionary to the government of Calcutta; while the revenues of his country, and the general administration of its affairs, were claimed by the English.

One great object attained by these arrangements was the intervention of a strong barrier between the provinces on the eastern coast, and the possibility of invasion by way of Caubul and Affghanistan. The better to secure himself on these flanks, Lord Wellesley despatched

Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, to the court of Persia, by whom engagements were contracted which bound the two states mutually to assist one another in case either should be molested. On the side of Persia, moreover, a pledge was given that no French agent should be permitted to pass through her territory, nor any intrigue, for the purpose of effecting for that people an inroad into British India, sanctioned. But the governor-general, while thus confirming his power in the north, was not regardless of the state of his alliances in the south and west. It appeared to him that the state of the Company's relations with the Nabobs of Arcot, of Tanjore, and of Surat, was in the greatest degree unsatisfactory; and as ground of interference, at least with the first, was not wanting, he resolved to deal with all, as he had dealt with the sovereigns of Oude and Furruckabad.

In the prosecution of this design the governor-general began with Surat, a city which, with a limited territory attached, had, like almost all the constituent parts of the Mogul empire, become, on the decline of the royal authority, in a great measure independent. It was a place of some note, which it owed chiefly to its local situation, being built along the south bank of the river Taptee in Guzerat; and because the pilgrims to the Prophet's tomb were in the habit of embarking there, it received the distinguished title of the Gate of Mecca. For many years an amicable relation

had subsisted between the Nabob and the Bombay government; which, besides supplying him with a garrison for the castle, defended him against the encroachments of his more powerful neighbours till the expense of doing so was found to outweigh the benefits derived, and his subsidies to fall short of the payments which were due to the troops. Various changes were from time to time suggested, and at least partially acted upon; but these equally failed in giving satisfaction to the English, and allaying the distrust and apprehension of the Nabob. It occurred to Lord Wellesley to remove all complaints on both sides, by reducing the native sovereign to the rank of a mere puppet. Taking advantage of the death of the reigning prince, which occurred in January, 1799, his Lordship resolved to remodel the connexion altogether, and the absolute helplessness of the son, if deprived of the continuance of his European protectors, enabled him to dictate his own terms. These comprised a resignation, by the Nabob, of all control as well over the revenue as in the civil and criminal administration of the country, and his acceptance of the title of sovereign, with an annual pension of one lac of rupees, and of a fifth of the duties collected after an allowance for the Mahratta chout should be deducted. We have not one word to say as to the abstract justice of this arrangement; of its great convenience to the English there can be no doubt.

We took occasion to state, in the preceding chapter, that serious differences arose between Lord Hobart*, when governor of Fort St. George, and Sir John Shore, on the subject of obtaining from the Nabob of Arcot some such renunciation of his authority as Lord Wellesley had now exacted from the Nabob of Surat. In consequence of Sir John Shore's opposition, the project fell to the ground; nor was it reverted to by Lord Clive, till Lord Wellesley, taking advantage of certain contingencies highly favourable to his views, made ready to extend the new subsidiary system both into the Carnatic and Tanjore. With respect to Tanjore, the position in which it stood with reference to the English government was this. During the war of 1792, the conduct of the Rajah, Ameer Sing, proved so little satisfactory, that serious doubts were entertained whether, at the conclusion of peace, his principality, of which Lord Cornwallis had taken military possession, ought to be restored to him. A despatch from home, however, determined the local authorities to pursue the milder course, and the Rajah was reinstated in his powers, which he continued to exercise in a manner agreeable to the Madras government.

Time passed, and in 1798 a discovery was made, that Ameer Sing had no legal claim to the sovereignty, which belonged of right to Serpojee, the adopted son of Rajah Tuljajee. Lord Wellesley at once espoused the cause

* Afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire.

of the new aspirant, who, in return for such support, consented to resign the management of the kingdom entirely into the hands of his allies. No difficulty was experienced in setting aside Ameer Sing. Serpojee mounted the musnud, and, together with a pension of one lac of star pagodas in addition to a fifth part of the net revenue, was permitted to enjoy the title of Rajah with the pomp and ceremony of a court.

As the circumstances which led to a similar result in Arcot were of a very different character, so the negociations which preceded the final arrangement proved at once more complicated and more tardy of development. On examining the secret records of the Sultaun's palace after the capture of Seringapatam, there was found an extensive correspondence which both the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and his father had carried on with Hyder and with Tippoo. The correspondence in question contains numerous expressions indicative of a hostile feeling towards the English, and more than one which seemed to imply that the Nabobs were ready, whenever a fitting opportunity should offer, to assist in subverting a power distasteful to them and to all the native princes of India. Lord Wellesley caused the letters in which these or similar allusions occurred to be submitted to a species of Court of Inquiry, which, after a good deal of time spent in deliberation, and a personal examination of the vakeels and other officers of the late Sultaun, came to

the decision, not only that the proofs of a secret understanding were numerous, but that the meditated treachery of the two Nabobs absolved the English government from all engagements into which it might have entered with the family of Arcot. Armed with this verdict, the governor-general felt that the ball was at his foot; yet being willing to gain his end by any means rather than by violence, he abstained for a while from bringing a formal charge against the Nabob, under the expectation that a sense of his own helplessness, and the prospect of liberal treatment to himself and his relations, might even yet induce him to accede to the terms which were offered. He had entirely mistaken the character of the man with whom he had to deal. Though acquainted with the nature of the charge about to be brought against him, and aware of the consequence which would follow, the Nabob continued obstinately to reject every proposition which had for its object a voluntary surrender of his authority, till at last orders were given to accomplish by force of arms what persuasion and argument had failed to effect.

It was in the month of May, 1801, that Lord Clive * received his final instructions; and the reasons assigned for the adoption of so strong a measure embraced not only the established hostility of the reigning prince, but referred also to the worse than inefficient nature of that government which during a series of

* Afterwards Earl of Powis.

years he had maintained. It was argued that the people were everywhere suffering the most cruel oppression,—that the fields were passing everywhere out of cultivation;—that the resources of one of the most fertile regions on the surface of the globe were consumed by usurers, and that the very bonds of society were unloosed. On this ground, not less than as an act of self-defence, the meditated revolution was defended. Nevertheless, the individual against whom all this parade of obloquy and military strength was directed sustained no hurt either from the one or the other. Lord Clive, when preparing to occupy the palace with troops, ascertained that he lay ill of a dangerous malady, and proceedings were, as a matter both of delicacy and prudence, suspended. It was well that so much moderation had been used. On the 15th July, 1801, the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah died, having a few days previously received into his presence his sons with other members of his family, and certain of the most influential of his nobles.

Though the palace was not occupied, a guard had been placed at the gates, and Colonel Close and Mr. Webbe, the commissioners appointed to conduct the business of abdication, hastened to prevent the inconveniences that might arise from the formal appointment of a successor. They required to be made acquainted with the contents of a will which the deceased was stated to have left behind; and in spite of the remonstrances of the courtiers, who objected

to such haste as indecent, they prevailed upon his son Ali Hussain to produce the document. It named the young man who stood before them as heir to the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and appointed three khans, Mahomed Nejeed, Salar Jung, and Tuckia Alia, his guardians and tutors during nonage. To these, then, as soon as the young Nabob had withdrawn, they produced their proofs of the late sovereign's guilt, demanding that, in the name of their ward, they should accept the terms which it was intended to force upon Omdut ul Omrah himself. But the Regents firmly, though respectfully, declined to comply. They treated the assumed proofs of guilt as mere expressions of courtesy, exaggerated as all such expressions are, but meaning nothing; and they contended that, were the contrary the case, the crimes of the father ought not to be visited on the son. Neither then, indeed, nor at a subsequent interview which the commissioners held with them after the funeral of Omdut ul Omrah, was any impression made, and the business seemed as far as ever from an amicable conclusion.

Having thus failed to bend the Regents to their wishes, the commissioners desired that the young Nabob himself might be introduced to them, a requisition with which the khans complied, not without extreme reluctance. From him, however, they received the same answer which his guardians had given, and the matter appeared utterly hopeless, when a

peculiar expression in the youth's countenance led to a belief that he would hold a different tone if examined in private. He was accordingly taken into an inner room, sorely against the will of the khans, and there distinctly stated that he was acting in his refusal under control; and that, were his own wishes consulted, he would cheerfully accept the proffered kingdom divested of the cares of sovereignty. The commissioners entreated him to consider the point well, and explained, in the clearest manner, every article under discussion; but his determination seemed unmoved, and he requested that a treaty might be drawn up in order that he might sign it. His wishes were attended to, and on the following day Messrs. Close and Webbe repaired to the palace with the deed duly engrossed. But another change had occurred in his determinations. He now refused to act except by the advice of his guardians, and neither the commissioners nor Lord Clive himself, though he made the attempt in person, could ever after succeed in bending him from his purpose.

Baffled in this attempt, the English authorities were driven to take a step on which they had for some time determined should all other expedients fail. There was some cause to suspect that Hussain Ali was not the son of Omdut ul Omrah, but a supposititious child palmed upon him by one of his secondary wives. Of that circumstance, though at any other moment perfectly immaterial, they resolved to

avail themselves, by setting up Azeem ul Dowlah, a son of Ameer ul Omrah, the next in succession after the direct line, as a rival to Hussain. Azeem, however, being a captive in the hands of the Regents, any open manifestation of such a design would, of course, prove fatal to him; and here their first views were directed to devise some scheme by which he might be withdrawn from his perilous situation. But while they hesitated how to act, an accident did that for them, which deliberation and design might have failed to accomplish. It came to Lord Clive's knowledge, that the guardians, without consulting him, were about to go through the customary forms of investiture, and to proclaim Ali Hussain, Nabob. Not a moment was lost in preventing this act; troops were marched into the palace, Azeem ul Dowlah was placed under their protection, and after one or two interviews with Colonel Close and Mr. Webbe, he ratified a treaty similar in almost every respect to that which had been offered to Hussain Ali. By these means the whole civil and military government of the Carnatic became vested in the Company. On the Nabob was settled a clear annual revenue of from two to three lacs of rupees; the different branches of his family as well as of the family of Mahomed Ali Khan were amply provided for; and of the debts incurred by his predecessors, so many were guaranteed by the English authorities as bore any trace of having been fairly and honourably contracted.

With respect to Hussain Ali and his guardians, after vainly protesting against the arrangement, they saw the necessity of submission; and the young prince retiring into private life, no more was heard, for a while, either of him or of his pretensions. But he did not long survive the disgrace which had been put upon him. He died on the 6th of April, 1802, within a few days of the decease of Ameer Sing, the deposed Rajah of Tanjore.

CHAPTER III.

Lord Wellesley—Schemes of Alliance with the Peishwah and with Scindiah thwarted—War between Scindiah and Holkar—Flight of the Peishwah to Poonah—Treaty of Bassein—Distasteful to the other Mahratta chiefs—War with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar—Battle of Assaye—Of Delhi—Of Laswaree—Of Argaum—Peace with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar—War with Holkar—Battles of Deig and Furruckabad—First siege of Bhurtpore—Desultory warfare—Unsatisfactory state of the relations with Scindiah.

The effect of Lord Wellesley's success in these delicate negociations was to give to the empire in India a degree of consistency, both geographical and political, such as, under a more scrupulous system of acting, it never would have attained. From the gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin in the west, and from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Ganges on the east, the whole line of sea coast, with the exception of Cuttack on the one side and Baroach on the other, was obedient to the Company's rule; while the authority which they exercised in Mysore, Hyderabad, and Oude was not less absolute than in their own dominions. Still the fabric of English power, though advancing rapidly to completion, was not yet complete. So long as the Mahrattas

persisted in maintaining their haughty independence, there was an enemy in the very vitals of the body politic, against whose machinations it would be necessary to watch with the utmost possible vigilance. Lord Wellesley was neither ignorant nor regardless of this truth. Of his first effort to bring the Peishwah into a subsidiary alliance, as well of the causes which contributed to defeat the design, notice has already been taken. It remains for us to give an account of that combination of circumstances which led, after an interval of great excitement, to a different result.

From the date of the treaty of Salbhye up to the close of the second Mysore war, few grounds of serious differences between the Mahrattas and the Company existed. The former divided among themselves — for the confederacy being more nominal than real, each chief maintaining an absolute independence on the rest, had ceased, in a great measure, to act in concert; and had the contrary been the case, the interposition of various states between their frontiers and those of the English rendered an angry collision between the two nations next to impossible. It was only on the side of Oude, indeed, that the two empires abutted one upon the other, and there the government of the Mahrattas was in the hands of a family which had engaged too deeply in other plots to risk any unnecessary quarrel with the English. The downfall of Tippoo's power, and the subsidiary alliances

contracted with the Nizam and the Mysore Rajah, brought about an important change in these respects. Now the Mahrattas and the English were become neighbours on various points, and the latter being pledged to defend their allies equally with their own subjects, it seemed next to impossible that misunderstandings could long be avoided. For it had ever been the great object of the Mahrattas to establish a permanent superiority in the Deccan, and Scindiah, who now ruled with absolute authority at the court of Poonah, was by far too ambitious to abandon all hope of its accomplishment.

These were the considerations which actuated Lord Wellesley when inviting the peishwah to become a party to the treaty of partition, as well as when seeking to enter with him into the same species of union which held the estates of the Nizam and the Company together. The influence of Scindiah was, however, too great, and the Peishwah rejected the proposition; continuing to maintain in all his proceedings the same haughty reserve towards the English which had restrained him from taking part in the late war. But Scindiah, though a very powerful chief in his own nation, was not without a rival. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, of the family of Mulhar Rao Holkar, the great Mahratta conqueror in the north, entertained towards him a deadly rancour, of the origin of which a few words will suffice to give an account.

Tuckogee Holkar, the nephew and successor of Mulhar Rao in the Malwa principality of which Indore was the capital, died in 1797, leaving behind four sons, of whom two were by his principal wife, and therefore legitimate; two by a concubine, and therefore illegitimate. As usually happens in Eastern countries, a dispute on the subject of succession soon arose—Cashee Rao, the elder, claiming all by right of seniority, while Mulhar Rao asserted his title to a moiety of the inheritance; and as the cause of Mulhar was espoused by both Eecthogee Holkar and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the sons of the concubine, Cashee deemed it prudent to refer the case for decision to the Peishwah. All parties accordingly repaired to Poonah, where Cashee's gold proved to be more available than his arguments; for Scindiah, in consideration of a bribe, caused Mulhar Rao to be surprised, and, with all his attendants, put to death.

Having thus disposed of one of the candidates, Scindiah proceeded to convince the other also, that, in choosing him as an arbitrator, (for the Peishwah only acted through him,) he had virtually deprived himself of all authority. The wife of Mulhar being pregnant, Scindiah waited till she brought forth a son. That child he immediately seized, and retaining Cashee at the same time in a state of total dependence, he proposed himself to govern the Holkar prnicipality in his name. Eecthogee Holkar and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, indignant at the wrong

put upon their house, fled from Poonah, and prepared to take up arms. But the former being hard pressed took refuge in Kolapoor, where, being made prisoner, he was slain; and the latter saved himself only by withdrawing first to Nagpoor and eventually to Mehyser on the Nerbudda. Here he busied himself in gathering together a band of adventurers, a class of men with whom India at that period abounded, and while Scindiah's attention was engrossed with his own plans of aggrandisement at Poonah, made some progress towards the re-establishment of his family rights.

Roused by the repeated announcements which came in of losses in Malwa, Scindiah drew together an army upon the Nerbudda, and on the 14th of October, 1801, came up with Holkar in the vicinity of Indore. A battle ensued which ended in the defeat of Holkar, all his artillery and baggage being captured in the flight; yet was his spirit far from broken; and the rapidity with which he made good his losses, and filled up the casualties in his ranks, conveys no mean idea of his talents as a soldier. Early in the following year he appeared in the district of Poonah, more formidable than ever, both for the number and composition of his army, while Scindiah, distracted by many pressing matters in various and distant quarters, was by no means in a condition to hold him cheap. Nevertheless he used his best endeavours to bring such a force into the field as, with the

assistance of the Peishwah's troops, would ensure him a superiority; and though not free from apprehensions touching the result, continued towards the English the same reserve which he had hitherto exercised.

Lord Wellesley, impressed with a conviction that the present was a favourable moment for reopening his negociation of alliance with the Peishwah, instructed the resident at the court of Poonah to sound the authorities there; and even to propose to Scindiah the acceptance of a like treaty as the price of assistance in his hour of need against Holkar. The Peishwah appeared more inclined than previously to meet the advances of Colonel Close, though he strongly objected to several of the proffered conditions; but Scindiah's bearing was changed. He received Colonel Collins, the officer appointed to sound him, with politeness, treated him well while lingering in the camp, but carefully avoided all application for that aid which the other had been instructed not to offer unless requested. The resident accordingly refrained from bringing forward his proposals, and the event of the negociation manifestly turned upon the issues of the pending struggle.

It became very evident in the beginning of October, 1802, that a decisive battle was at hand. Holkar had approached the city of Poonah, between which and his camp lay the main body of Scindiah's troops supported by those of the Peishwah; and the superior quality of the inva-

ders, not less than their excess in point of numbers, augured no good to the cause of Scindiah. Aware of this fact, and apprehensive for his personal safety, the Peishwah, on the 11th October, transmitted, through his chief minister, a series of proposals to the British resident. He agreed, among other matters, to receive permanently within his dominions a certain amount of British troops, and promised to assign for their maintenance a tract of country adjacent to the Toombuddra. Yet even now his sincerity might well be doubted, for it was ascertained that, so late as the 24th, a deputation had waited from him on Holkar, with distinct proposals for an accommodation with that chief. These, however, Holkar rejected, and on the 25th a battle took place, in which the troops of Scindiah and the Peishwah sustained a defeat. All ground of hesitation was thus taken away from the Peishwah. He put into the hands of his minister, for the British resident, a preliminary engagement to subsidise six battalions with their proportion of artillery, and to cede a territory, either in Guzerat or the Carnatic, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-five lacs of rupees;—after which, attended by a slender escort, he quitted Poonah.

His first halting-place was Alhar, on the Bancoote in Concan, where, considering that he was not safe from pursuit, he passed in an English vessel to Bassein. Thither Colonel Close promptly followed; and there a treaty was formally concluded, by which all that Lord

Wellesley had ever sought to attain was conceded. The Peishwah consented to accept, for the military defence of his country, an English army; agreed to exclude from his service all Europeans, except subjects of the British crown; gave up his claim of chout on the British possessions in Guzerat; pledged himself to make no wars of aggression; to submit his quarrels with other states to English arbitration; neither to contract alliances, nor encourage intercourse abroad, except in concert with his new allies—in plain language, placed himself, towards the Bengal government, in a situation in most respects strictly analogous to that occupied by the Nizam. It is scarcely necessary to add that the governor-general, whom the late peace with France rendered peculiarly jealous of the re-establishment of a French influence in India, expressed himself highly gratified by such a termination to his diplomacy; and lost no time in ratifying a convention, of which, perhaps, in reference to the actual influence of the Peishwah, he somewhat over-estimated the importance.

Having thus established an absolute control over the future proceedings of the Peishwah, Lord Wellesley's next efforts were directed to re-establish him on the throne to which Holkar, enraged at his flight, and construing it into an abdication, had advanced Emrut Rao, the adopted son of the Peishwah's father. There were two methods by which that end appeared attainable; either in conjunction with Scindiah,

provided he could now be brought to reason—that is, to the acceptance of an English alliance on their own terms—or independently of him, by employing for that purpose the armies of Fort St. George, Mysore, and Hyderabad. Lord Wellesley was too sagacious a statesman not to be prepared for either emergency; and hence, while negociations were again opened at Scindiah's head-quarters, the armies both of Madras and Bombay, as well as the Nizam's contingent, received orders to hold themselves in readiness for service at a moment's notice.

It were a tedious and uninteresting task to detail the particulars of those negociations which were now entered into, as well with Holkar as with Scindiah. The former chief, alarmed lest he should draw the power of England upon him, proposed, of his own accord, to reinstate the Peishwah in his dignities; but stipulated for conditions to which the Peishwah would not accede, and which, to say the truth, were sufficiently arbitrary. Scindiah, on the other hand, continued to reject the alliance which the English would have pressed upon him, and finding in the Rajah of Berar a secret supporter, expressed in no measured terms his disapprobation of the engagements into which the Peishwah had entered.

So passed the time between the 31st of December, 1802, on which day the treaty of Bassein was signed, to the beginning of April, 1803. In the meanwhile the army of Fort St. George, under the command of Lieutenant-

general Stuart, concentrated at Hurryhur, from which post Major-general Wellesley, at the head of a select corps, was pushed forward towards the Toombuddra. As long as there appeared to be a hope of carrying the Mahratta chiefs along with him, Lord Wellesley abstained from restoring, by British influence alone, the Peishwah to his rights; but when the obstinacy of Scindiah left him no other alternative, he resolved to act as appeared most accordant both to the honour and interests of the Company. On the 12th, General Wellesley, with his army, passed the Toombuddra; on the 15th he came into distant communication with the Nizam's contingent, under Colonel Stevenson, who arrived the same day at Akloos; and it was satisfactorily ascertained that Holkar, leaving a garrison of fifteen hundred men, as well as Emrut Rao, in Poonah, was in full retreat to the southward. Nevertheless, as it was confidently reported that the usurper had determined on laying the city in ashes, some extraordinary effort with a view to preserve it was agreed upon. The Peishwah, who gave full credence to the rumour, was anxious that General Wellesley would detach some of his own officers with their troops, for the purpose of ensuring the safety of his family; but General Wellesley knew the value of such troops sufficiently to place little reliance on them. He therefore pushed forward with his own cavalry alone, the intervening country being entirely laid waste, which was incapable of subsisting a

large army; and after extraordinary exertions, including one march of upwards of sixty miles in thirty hours, arrived at Poonah on the 20th. That very morning Emrut Rao evacuated the place, without having had an opportunity to do it the smallest injury. No time was now lost in leading back the Peishwah to his capital. He travelled slowly, it is true, for quick travelling accords but ill with oriental notions of decorum; yet he reached Poonah on the 7th of May, and was welcomed back by a general salute from the artillery of the place, and from the British troops drawn out to receive him.

While these transactions were in progress, Scindiah, who had established his camp at Chickly, near Boohampore, where his own dominions bordered upon those of Berar, not only resisted every endeavour on the part of Colonel Collins to draw him into an alliance, but protested vehemently against the advance of the British troops to Poonah, and the state of vassalage in which he contended that the Peishwah was held. His protestations were met first by assurances that the Peishwah had voluntarily ratified the treaty of Bassein, which, in fact, left to him the enjoyment of all the rights that he ever possessed; and then by counter-charges of a confederacy, not only with the Rajah of Berar, but with Holkar, inimical to the interests of the English. Scindiah of course denied the charge, though, when hard pressed, he in the end avowed, that the question of peace or war would depend on the result of a conference

which he expected shortly to hold with the Berar Rajah. It needed but some such admission as this to point out to the governor-general the course which he must needs pursue. The unfriendly disposition of the Rajah of Berar, who had already refused the proffered alliance of the English, left no doubt on men's minds as to the part which he was prepared to play; and Lord Wellesley in consequence turned all the powers of his active and vigorous mind to the adjustment of a plan of campaign correspondent to the dangers which seemed to threaten.

His first step was to commit to General Lake in Hindustan, and to General Wellesley in the Deccan, powers both military and political, all but unlimited. The latter had under his command nearly seventeen thousand men, including the Nizam's army, headed by Colonel Stevenson; and he was supported by General Stuart, who with ten or twelve thousand more took up a position at Mugdul, where, without abandoning the defence of the English frontier, he was enabled to overawe a number of Mahratta chiefs, and give confidence to the advanced corps by securing their rear. So early as the 4th of June, General Wellesley made a movement to Augah, a place not far distant from Scindiah's fortress of Ahmednugger, while Colonel Stevenson, who had previously marched upon the Godavery, for the purpose of securing Aurungabad from the ruin with which Holkar threatened it, passed to the south of that river,

and there established himself. These movements, it will be observed, were rendered necessary in consequence of the proceedings of the confederates, who, having joined their forces, advanced towards the frontiers of the Nizam's country, and assumed, though professing the most friendly sentiments and intentions, an attitude by no means accordant with either.

Neither less decisive nor less prudent were the measures adopted in Hindustan. An army of two thousand five hundred men was assembled under General Lake, the commander-in-chief at Caunpore, for the purpose of acting against Scindiah's possessions in the north, as soon as hostilities should commence in the Deccan; of seizing Delhi, and obtaining possession of the emperor's person. A second corps, three thousand five hundred strong, was posted at Allahabad, with the view of operating in Bundelcund; while a third, amounting in all to five thousand two hundred and sixteen bayonets and sabres, was destined to invade Ragojee Bhoonslah's provinces in Kuttack. On the whole, therefore, including the troops of the Bombay presidency, of which upwards of four thousand, under Colonel Murray, were disposable, the troops actually in the field and obedient to British officers fell little short o fifty thousand fighting men.

To meet this formidable array, the confederates Scindiah and Ragojee Bhoonslah were able to collect under their standards about one hundred thousand men; of whom fifty thou-

sand were cavalry, thirty thousand regular infantry, officered in part by Europeans, and the remainder half-disciplined matchlock men, drawn chiefly from the territory of Berar. Their artillery was numerous, and their corps of rocket-men very complete. Had Holkar joined them, as his own interests and their wishes required, the result, though scarcely doubtful, might have been more difficult of attainment. But Holkar, after amusing them with promises, and obtaining both the release of his relative Mulhar Rao, and his re-establishment in his old possessions, first plundered the country both of friends and foes, and then withdrew into Malwa to watch the event.

It was on the side of the Deccan that the first blow was struck. General Wellesley, after vainly endeavouring, through Colonel Collins, the resident at Scindiah's court, to avert the necessity of action, by prevailing upon the confederates to retire into their respective countries, removed from his camp on the 6th of August, and on the 8th invested Ahmednuggur, of which the pettah was carried by escalade the same day. On the 12th the fort surrendered, after two days' firing, upon which General Wellesley, delaying only to settle the country in his rear, left a garrison to maintain his conquests, and pushed for the Godavery. He crossed that river and reached Aurungabad on the 29th. Colonel Stevenson, having moved some time previously to the eastward, had become aware that the confederates, eluding his

columns, had ascended the Adjunta Ghaut, and were now encamped in the vicinity of Jaulna. But they did not long remain stationary at that point. Informed of his arrival at Aurungabad, they marched rapidly southward, as if with a design of penetrating to Hyderabad, a manœuvre which recalled him without loss of time to the left bank of the Godavery. The Mahrattas, however, were either unable or unwilling to place that river between them and their own territories. They therefore countermarched with all speed; and though harassed by Colonel Stevenson, who made several attempts to force on a battle, who beat up their camp by night, and made himself master of Jaulna, they arrived on the 21st of September at the village of Bokerdaun, where eighteen battalions of regular infantry waited to reinforce them.

Equally eager in the pursuit, and almost equally intelligent in conducting it, General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met that day at Bunapoor, where they concerted a plan for their future operations, while the men and horses obtained a few hours' rest, of which they stood seriously in want. It was the object of both to fight a decisive battle with as little delay as possible, in conjunction, should such an arrangement prove practicable; but, at all events, to fight. To enable them to accomplish this, however, as well as to hinder the enemy from again passing to the southward, it was necessary that they should occupy both the

routes through the hills that run from Budnapore to Jaulna; and as General Wellesley chose the eastern pass, which skirts the range, Colonel Stevenson led off his people towards a defile on the west. It proved to be extremely rugged, even for an Indian ghaut, and his progress was, in consequence, both slow and irregular. General Wellesley, on the other hand, pushed forward with so much alacrity, that, on the 23d, he reached the village of Naulnye, where, just as he was about to pitch his camp, the spies reported that the enemy were within five or six miles of him. As it was added, however, that they were preparing to retreat, that the cavalry had already abandoned their position, and that the infantry was about to follow, the general resolved to execute a reconnoissance, and, in the event of matters proving to be as the hircarrahs represented, to attack such of their battalions as might remain upon the ground.

With this determination the march was resumed, and within as short a space of time as was requisite to traverse the interval, the hostile armies came into presence of one another. General Wellesley now saw that the Mahrattas, so far from retiring, had taken up a formidable position behind the Kaistna river, not far from its junction with the Juah. Upwards of fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand were horse, and ten thousand five hundred regular infantry, stood before him, supported by more than a hundred pieces of cannon; and the

steady countenance which they presented might have well damped the courage of a chief whose whole disposable force fell considerably short of five thousand men. But General Wellesley felt that, situated as he then was, any hesitation or delay, even for the purpose of obtaining the co-operation of Colonel Stevenson, might have been fatal. He could not halt where he was, for the ground presented no strong features, and all his baggage had been left at Naulnye, under a slender guard. He could not fall back to his camp, except at the hazard of molestation from the enemy's superior cavalry, and the certainty of being attacked next day at great disadvantage. There remained, therefore, no alternative, except to act on the offensive; and it was embraced without a moment's delay.

Without changing his order of march, the British general advanced towards the Kaistna, and inclining to his right till he gained a ford, immediately passed the river. No opposition was offered to this manœuvre: but the enemy, with a view of counteracting it, effected a partial change of their order, by throwing back their left, composed entirely of infantry and guns, so as to rest it upon the fortified village of Assaye. In the meanwhile, the British army was formed into two lines, with the cavalry as a reserve; and the ground occupied being narrow, the Kaistna and the Juah hemming it in on both sides, the superior numbers of the Mahrattas were rendered comparatively harmless. It was

General Wellesley's intention to turn the village of Assaye, by no means to lead upon it till the enemy's right had been shaken: with which view he instructed the officer who commanded the piquets to keep out of range of the Mahratta guns; but that brave soldier, either misunderstanding the nature of his orders, or disinclined to see others exposed to danger while he was safe, pushed boldly towards the batteries. The consequences were exceedingly disastrous both to the piquets and to the seventy-fourth regiment, which supported them; for the weight of fire thrown from that point has scarcely been equalled, has never, perhaps, been surpassed, in any field.

Perceiving the mistake which had occurred, and well aware of its inevitable results, General Wellesley at once adopted a new order of battle, and commanded the cavalry (the nineteenth dragoons and fourth native horse) to support the overmatched infantry. These regiments executed a brilliant charge, and, though very roughly handled, drove the Mahrattas from their guns, overthrowing both horse and foot by whom they were opposed. Not a moment was lost by the infantry regiments in availing themselves of the impression thus made. They sprang forward with the bayonet, forced back the enemy's first line upon the second, carried Assaye at a rush, and drove its garrison, with the reserve that ought to have supported it, headlong into the Juah. A general route immediately followed; for the horse, though they

had received little damage, held aloof; and a retreat which began in panic and confusion, soon became a flight. No pursuit could, however, be instituted. The infantry, harassed by a long day's march, and cut up by the events of the battle, were not in a condition to follow up their successes; while the cavalry, though they had largely contributed to the success of the day, had purchased the victory at the cost of their immediate efficiency. Besides, a number of men from the Mahratta lines, who had lain as if dead while the British troops were advancing, rose as soon as the line passed, and began to fire from their own guns upon the rear. It was found necessary, in order to stop this proceeding, to collect a body of troops together, and to recapture a second time an artillery which had been already abandoned.

The results of this splendid victory were, the total destruction of Scindiah's best infantry, the capture of ninety-eight pieces of cannon, and, above all, a thorough conviction on the minds of the native princes, that any superiority of numbers would avail them nothing in a struggle with the English. Twelve hundred Mahrattas, moreover, lay dead upon the field, and the whole country, to the extent of many miles round, was covered with their wounded. It is true that the loss on the part of the English was severe; for it fell little, if at all, short of one third of the troops engaged. Nevertheless, a more important battle, both as to its immediate and remote effects, was never fought

in the Deccan. Had it been possible, indeed, for Colonel Stevenson to come up so as to take part in the action, or even to press the pursuit, there would have been an end at once to the power both of Scindiah and the Bhoonslah; but this was not possible. Colonel Stevenson joined only on the evening of the 24th; and even then his troops, harassed by the passage of the ghaut, were in no condition to tread upon the heels of an army of horse fleeing for their lives.

While these things were passing in the Deccan, and the Bombay troops were overrunning Guzerat, and making themselves masters of Baroach and other strong places, General Lake* was carrying on operations with equal vigour and success against Scindiah's possessions in Hindostan. About the middle of August he moved from his quarters at Cawnpore, and passing the frontier line on the 28th, came, on the 29th, in sight of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by a French officer, M. Perron, at a place called Cowel, near the fort of Alighur. The enemy, after a trifling skirmish, fell back; and Cowel being occupied, Alighur, accounted one of the strongest forts in that quarter of India, was carried on the 4th of September by a coup-de-main. This was scarcely accomplished when General Lake received a communication from M. Perron, requesting a safe passage for himself and his family to Lucknow; and as it formed a principal object in the policy of the governor-general to detach Europeans as much as possible from

* Afterwards Lord Lake.

Scindiah's service, the request was immediately granted. The truth is, that Scindiah's nobles had become of late jealous of foreign influence, and M. Perron, aware that his successor in command was approaching, took advantage of a proclamation issued by Lord Wellesley previous to the commencement of hostilities, and found personal safety under the protection of the English.

On the 7th of September, General Lake, who had been delayed by a bold manœuvre against Shekoabad, executed with perfect success by a corps of Mahrattas, put his columns in motion, and arrived about eleven A.M. within six miles of Delhi. The men, fatigued by an eighteen miles' march, had just begun to pitch their tents, when a heavy firing at the outposts gave notice of an impending struggle. It soon appeared that Scindiah's main army, now commanded by M. Louis Bourquin, having crossed the Jumna in the night, was advancing to cover the capital of India, even at the hazard of a battle; and as the force which he had was not only well disciplined but numerous, comprising nine thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and seventy pieces of cannon, the issue of a battle might be regarded as at least doubtful. General Lake instantly ordered his troops, amounting in all to four thousand five hundred fighting men, under arms; and putting himself at the head of the cavalry, pushed on to reconnoitre.

Lake soon became aware that the position which his enemy had selected was very for-

midable, and that it was well furnished with artillery. The fire, indeed, to which he became exposed from the batteries masked by long grass, and which the cavalry were for a while compelled to sustain unsupported, was very severe; but the infantry no sooner came up, than Lake practised, with admirable success, one of the most trying manœuvres for troops so circumstanced of all that are recommended by the art of war. He caused his troopers to retreat as if in disorder; upon which the Mahrattas, believing that the day was their own, hurried from their works with loud shouts, and great apparent boldness. When the fitting moment came, the British horse opened to the right and left, and displayed a line of infantry, which advanced in gallant array, with muskets shouldered. In spite of a murderous discharge of grape and canister, they closed with the enemy, gave a volley at a hundred yards' distance, and brought their bayonets to the level. But the Mahrattas would not abide the shock; they fled with precipitation, leaving all their artillery behind, and nearly three thousand in killed and wounded, of whom many perished in the pursuit.

The British army bivouacked that night a little in advance of the field of battle, and marched next day into Delhi. It was abandoned by Scindiah's troops, and Shah Alum, the blind and aged representative of the Mogul race, passed, to his unfeigned delight, under the protection of the English. He was found

sitting under a tattered canopy, miserably attended, and very scurvily clothed, scarce the semblance of royal state being preserved about him, and of course incapable of commanding other than voluntary respect. General Lake made haste to improve his situation, as far as it was possible so to do, reserving, at the same time, all the substance of power for the new masters of India. The Mogul was saluted as sovereign, had a pension settled upon himself and his family, was provided with guards and attendants, and lodged in the palace of his ancestors. His authority passed, of course, into the hands of the English government, on whose bounty he had become dependent. Of the treasure found in Delhi, as it had been accumulated by Scindiah's officers, and was meant to be applied in a manner injurious to the English interests, General Lake felt himself entitled to take possession; and the Mogul, after a slight demur, compromised a claim which he had put in, by requesting that it might be bestowed as a donation on the victorious army.

Having satisfactorily arranged the affairs of Delhi, General Lake pushed upon Agra, of which, after a sharp affair, he obtained possession, two thousand five hundred of Scindiah's best troops taking service under his standards. Beyond this point, however, he did not venture to penetrate; for information came in of the march of a strong reinforcement from the Deccan, which, being joined by some battalions from M. Bourquin's army, and supported by

an excellent body of horse, threatened to act upon his communications, and to recover Delhi. He instantly retraced his steps, followed them on their retreat towards the Mewat hills, and, after a long night march, overtook them, with his cavalry alone, at the village of Laswaree. He charged, believing that they would not abide the shock, and was repulsed; but hovering about them, he had the satisfaction to see that they took up a position of defence, and that, as soon as his infantry should arrive, a decisive battle might be brought on. It took place on the 1st of November, and proved neither less obstinate nor less bloody than any similar operation in which the troops of Hindostan had ever been engaged. Of the veterans trained by De Borgne, the predecessor of Perron in Scindiah's service, several battalions were literally cut to pieces; while the seventy-sixth regiment, which was carried somewhat prematurely into action, purchased a deathless reputation at the cost of half its numbers. A gallant charge, however, executed by the twenty-ninth dragoons, turned the tide, and the Mahrattas were defeated with prodigious slaughter.

By this series of great and striking victories, the whole of Scindiah's possessions in Hindostan, including Agra, Delhi, with all the districts north of the Chabul, became the property of the English. In the south also, the stream which set against him by the triumph of Assaye by no means changed its

current. On the 26th of October, three days after the battle, the campaign was re-opened with vigour; and Scindiah's towns and castles fell, one by one, into the hands of his indefatigable and skilful opponents. In this emergency, out-manœuvred on all hands, and deserted, in some measure, by the Rajah of Berar, who separated his forces from those of a falling friend, and began to act independently, Scindiah endeavoured to open a negociation for peace, requesting that General Wellesley would send agents to his camp and to that of the Bhoonslah, with whom terms might be definitively arranged. General Wellesley, of course, declined to act thus, though he received such vakeels as Scindiah commissioned to him, while at the same time he followed up his successes by cutting off the Berar Rajah from a meditated irruption into the Nizam's country, and compelling him to fall back towards his own territories. He then hastened to join Stevenson, whom he had directed to form the siege of Gawelghur; and as he permitted Scindiah's representative to follow his head-quarters, the negociations were not interrupted. But no great while elapsed ere it became apparent to all men that the Mahratta's sole object was to gain time. The conditions on which a cessation of arms had been granted—namely, that he would withdraw twenty coss to the east of Elichpoor, and forage still farther to the eastward—were not observed. On the contrary, he moved to a point where his cavalry came

within five miles of Ragojee Bhoonslah's camp, then established at Argaum, near Gawelghur, under the orders of the Rajah's brother; and as there was no truce with the Bhoonslah, who had as yet abstained from making any advances towards a pacification, the real designs of Scindiah were not to be misunderstood. General Wellesley, at least, saw through them at once, and took steps, in spite of the vakeels' intreaties and protestations, to bring on, if possible, a second decisive battle.

Colonel Stevenson was at this time close upon the heels of the confederates, and it became a point of the utmost importance to join him ere an action should take place. That object was attained on the 28th, upon which the confederacy immediately broke up, and commenced a retreat, which they covered as well as they could by bodies of irregular horse. The British general followed on the 29th, his Mysore cavalry driving the Mahrattas before them; and having arrived within a short distance of Argaum, was about to encamp for the night, when a report was brought that the enemy's horse were increased, and that the Mysoreans were giving ground. A support to the Mysoreans was at once ordered out, and the general, himself proceeding at its head, beheld the united armies of Scindiah and the Bhoonslah drawn up in line on an extensive plain. Late as it was, for the day was far spent, he determined to attack on the instant. The troops were accordingly led into action; and after a

severe contest, which cost the assailants about four hundred men in killed, wounded, and missing, the enemy sustained a total defeat. Without any unnecessary delay, the siege of Gawelghur was formed; and on the 14th of December that important fortress fell.

These numerous reverses, accompanied as they were by the subjugation of Cuttack, Bundelcund, Juggernaut, and other valuable possessions, completely broke the spirit of the Mahratta chiefs, who began at last to sue in earnest for that peace, of which they could no longer disguise from themselves the stern necessity. In conducting the negociations necessary to the attainment of this end, there occurred, of course, all the duplicity and procrastination which appear to be inseparable from acts of oriental diplomacy. Nevertheless, Lord Wellesley continued firm in the demands which he made at the beginning; and a treaty founded upon them being drawn up and ratified, the sword was for a brief space returned to the scabbard. By the terms of that treaty, the Rajah of Berar ceded to the Company the whole province of Cuttack, including the fort of Baroach and its dependencies. To the Nizam he gave up all the country which lay between his own frontier and the Wurda eastward, as well as the districts more to the north, from the frontier to the hills among which Gawelghur and Nernulla are situated. He renounced all claim to chout over any portion of the Nizam's dominions, undertook to employ no foreigners

in his own service, and pledged himself to fulfil whatever engagements the English might have contracted with his dependents and tributaries. In like manner Scindiah made over to the English his sovereignty in the Dooab, the fort and territory of Ahmednugger, with the whole of his possessions from the Adjuntee hills to the Godavery; and relinquishing the control which he had claimed to exercise over the person of the emperor, ceased at the same time to advance any title to payments of any kind, either from the Company or its allies. The same restrictions, moreover, to which Ragojee Bhoonslah submitted as to the employment of Europeans in his service, were imposed upon him; and he was compelled to accept that subsidiary alliance to which he had exhibited throughout so marked a disinclination. Finally, a number of petty princes, the Rajahs of Bhurtpore, Joodepoor, Jeypoor, Mocherry, &c., whose dominions lay contiguous to those both of Scindiah and the Company, were declared to be independent; and the protection of the English being extended to them, the right of the Mahrattas to deal with them otherwise than with the English themselves was taken away. Such are the general outlines of those treaties of peace which were concluded with the Rajah of Berar on the 7th, and with Scindiah on the 30th of December, 1803. Of the mode in which it was found necessary to deal with Holkar it remains to give an account.

We took occasion to state, some time ago

that serious apprehensions were at one time entertained lest a reconciliation should take place between Scindiah and Holkar, and the Mahratta league be strengthened by the troops and resources of the latter chief. That both Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar used their best efforts to bring this about is certain; but a Mahratta being, in general, much more the slave of personal feeling than of interest, Holkar, with provoking obstinacy, resisted these allurements. As their fortunes, however, were seen to decline, his apprehensions of the growing power of the Company acquired strength, and he began to meditate an interference in the progress of the war, at a moment when prudence ought to have suggested to him the necessity of keeping quiet. Withdrawing from Malwa, where he had levied heavy contributions, both on friend and foe, he moved in the direction of Jeypoor, for the purpose of opening a negociation with the Rajpoot princes, and especially with the Rajah of Burtpore, the Rohillas, and the Sheiks; while, at the same time, he sent a messenger to Scindiah, with full power to contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, provided the Malwa Rajah would consent to violate the treaty of pacification into which he had just entered. This was followed by the commission of a crime as barbarous as it was impolitic. In consequence of a proclamation issued by Lord Wellesley at the commencement of the war, three British subjects, who held commissions

under Holkar, desired to abandon his service. He now refused his assent to the proposition; and after detaining them three months under a species of honourable restraint, consummated his cruelty by putting them to death. The attention of the governor-general was immediately directed to the movements of this rash and restless freebooter; and hence, while the army of the Deccan broke up into detachments, with a view to preserve order throughout the newly-acquired conquests, that of Hindostan was kept in readiness, under General Lake, to strike a blow, whenever the fitting moment should arrive, at the power of Holkar.

Lake's first proceeding was to establish a camp at Hurdown, a position which at once commanded the main approaches into the Company's territory, and afforded a ready means of access to Holkar's army in almost any direction. That army, swollen by the bands which the pacification of the 7th and 30th of December had let loose, was now increased to sixty thousand horse, with an infantry formidable both for its numbers and its discipline; and the confidence of the leader rose, as it might be expected to do, in exact proportion to the increasing number of his followers. In reply to a friendly communication, in which Lake invited him to send agents to his camp, and, as a proof of his peaceable intentions, to abstain from menacing, or otherwise breaking in upon the tranquillity

of the Company's allies, he stated, in vague and general terms, that he meant no harm—while, at the same time, it was satisfactorily ascertained that he was even then engaged in an extensive intrigue, for the severance of the tie which bound the English and their allies together. Against this proceeding General Lake immediately remonstrated, and vakeels arrived soon afterwards at his head-quarters; but the demands which they made were so extravagant, that only one conclusion could be drawn from them. When it appeared, moreover, that Holkar had written in an overbearing style to General Wellesley, that he had demanded certain territories, to which he set up a claim, and threatened war as the consequence of a refusal, all further deliberation seemed unnecessary. Both Scindiah and the Peishwah were informed, that, in crushing this pestilent chief, the English sought to obtain no accession of territory for themselves; indeed, that the governor-general had resolved to make over to them whatever conquests might be wrested from the common enemy; and they entered, or appeared to enter, especially Scindiah, whom Holkar had deeply offended by reducing Ajmere, and with great apparent cordiality, into the project of a war: for Scindiah had already given up the messengers whom his rival employed to entice him from the line of his engagements, and though he still kept an emissary at the Mahratta durbar, he now offered any portion of his forces that

the governor-general might choose to demand, as an auxiliary army in the struggle which impended.

Conclusive as these proceedings were of the hostile designs of Holkar, and sufficient of themselves to justify almost any act on the part of the Company, his rashness, or it may be his necessities, drove him to precipitate hostilities, by the commission of various predatory atrocities within the territories of Jyenagur. Lord Wellesley issued immediate orders to retaliate, and both Lake and Wellesley made such dispositions as their respective circumstances would allow. A grievous famine infested, at this time, a large portion of the Deccan, in consequence of which General Wellesley found it impossible to assemble such an army as he would have otherwise employed; but he ordered a corps from Guzerat to penetrate into Malwa, and to take possession of Indore, the capital of Holkar's dominions in that quarter. Meanwhile Lake pushed forward a detachment under Colonel Monson, to remove Holkar from his position, himself following with the main body of the army at a less rapid pace; but Holkar did not wait to sustain an attack. He retired, on the contrary, with precipitation beyond the Chumbul, upon which Lake returned within the line of the British territory; and left it to the corps from Guzerat to act offensively, while Monson, if he could accomplish no more, should hold the enemy at bay.

During the progress of his forward movement, Colonel Monson had taken some of Holkar's strong-holds; and, among others, the important fortress of Rampore. He ascertained, too, that Holkar was making efforts to re-open a negociation, and he came to the conclusion, not, perhaps, unnatural in his circumstances, that the marauder had become weary of the war. Emboldened by these reflections, and finding himself at Soonara, within twenty coss of Holkar's camp, which his spies informed him had just been broken up for the purpose of striking a blow at his detachment, Monson resolved to anticipate the manœuvre, and moved briskly forward to attack the enemy, while yet encumbered with the passage of the river. Had he persevered in this determination, it is extremely probable that he would have achieved a victory second only to those of Laswaree and Assaye; for the Mahrattas are easily overthrown when driven to act on the defensive, especially against an adversary whom they hold in respect; but, while his provisions were reduced to no more than two days' consumption, a rumour unfortunately reached him, that the Guzerat corps, under Colonel Murray, was retiring, with which it was his object to co-operate. He abandoned his bolder counsels on the instant, and not only arrested the further progress of his people, but commenced a retreat. It was conducted with great gallantry, but proved eminently distressing to the troops, who were harassed from hour

to hour by the Mahrattas, rendered doubly audacious from a consideration of their own superiority. All the guns attached to the corps were abandoned, repeated skirmishes were sustained, and hardships of the most distressing nature endured; for it was the height of the rainy season, and the roads, not under any circumstances remarkable for their excellence, became, at various points, exceedingly difficult of passage. At Rampoora, indeed, which he reached on the 29th of July, reinforcements, both of men and grain, met him; but even with these he did not consider that he would be justified in risking an action against the whole force of Holkar's army. He, therefore, continued his retrogression upon Agra, where he arrived, at last, on the 31st of August, destitute of baggage, tents, and organization, his people having, during the last night's march, deserted their ranks, and escaped annihilation only through the ignorance of Holkar's officers that the case was so.

Neither this unfortunate affair, and it was truly unfortunate, because the result of a mistaken calculation, nor a successful irruption which a body of predatory horse had made, during the month of May, into the province of Bundelcund, in any serious degree affected the issues of the war. Holkar's dominions were everywhere overrun, Colonel Murray and the Guzerat division took possession of Indore and the districts dependent on it; while Colonel Wallace, on whom, after the departure of Ge-

neral Wellesley, the command in the Deccan devolved, reduced Chandore, Anchilla, Jeswunta, Galna, and every other town and castle south of the Nerbudda. In like manner, a daring effort, which Holkar made to possess himself of Delhi, and in the prosecution of which the whole of his infantry and artillery were employed, entirely failed. Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, though supported only by a few companies of sepoys, maintained that city against his utmost efforts—a feat almost without a parallel in military story, when the extent of the place, a circumference of ten miles, is considered. Nor was this all—when compelled to raise the siege, by a report of General Lake's advance, he found himself, after a fruitless effort to destroy a detachment on its march to Sehraunpoor, reduced to the necessity of dividing his men, and fleeing, with his cavalry, towards the southern extremity of the Dooab, while his guns and infantry were committed to the safe keeping of the Rajah of Bhurtpore. For that sovereign, with the fickleness peculiar to his race, had been induced to entertain of the English a groundless jealousy; and desperate as the adventure seemed to be, to link his fortunes with those of Holkar. He was led to believe that the governor-general intended to impose upon him the revenue and judicial system which had been established in the Bengal provinces; and his dread of so fearful a calamity closed his eyes to the unequal nature of the struggle in

which his determination to resist its infliction must inevitably involve him.

As soon as the dangers which menaced Delhi were made known to General Lake, he moved from his position at Agra, and carrying only a corps of cavalry and flying artillery along with him, hastened to avert them. This was accomplished without either danger or difficulty; for the horse which Holkar left to mask his operations elsewhere, retreated as Lake pushed on; and Holkar himself, as has just been described, fled with the utmost speed through the Dooab at the head of his cavalry. Meanwhile Major-general Fraser, the second in command, marched upon Deeg, under the guns of which Holkar's infantry had taken post; and, on the 5th of November, 1804, found himself in the presence of the enemy. Immediate dispositions were made to bring matters to the issue of a battle, which was deferred only till next day, the night already drawing on; and on the 6th an affair took place, neither less brilliant nor less decisive than any in which the troops of the two nations had as yet come into contact. It ended in the total defeat of the Mahrattas, a triumph somewhat dearly purchased by the life of the brave man to whose courage and conduct the glory of the day was owing. The remains of Holkar's discomfited followers took refuge in Deeg, of which, though subject to the authority of the Bhurtpore Rajah, the siege was instantly formed.

In the meanwhile, Scindiah, with his myriads of horse, continued a rapid but disorderly retreat from Saumble, where he had striven, in vain, to destroy Colonel Burn and his battalion, to Furruckabad, on the western bank of the Ganges. His route might be traced from stage to stage by the smoke of burning villages, while his men and horses swept the fields of their produce, as if a swarm of locusts had fallen upon them. But Lake, anxious at once to save the province of Oude, and to hinder the pestilence from falling back again upon districts which it had already ravaged, pressed upon him with unwearied diligence. On the 14th of November he was at Khass Gunge; on the 16th he established his head-quarters at Alygunge; and by day-break on the following morning, after a night's march of more than thirty miles, he fell in, sword in hand, upon the enemy's encampment at Furruckabad. Never was surprise more complete, or its effects more memorable. Holkar fled in the utmost trepidation—his followers melting away from hour to hour, till, in the end, scarce four thousand men and horses, fit for service, adhered to his standard.

We have alluded to the unfriendly sentiments of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and to the causes in which they originated. His first act of positive hostility was the affording an asylum within the walls of Deeg to Holkar's broken infantry, and the opening of the guns of that place on the pursuers. Such an out-

rage could not be overlooked. Colonel Monson, on whom, after the fall of Fraser, the command devolved, lost no time in placing Deeg in a state of blockade; and Lake himself arriving on the 1st of December, the blockade was immediately converted into a siege. On the 13th the trenches were opened; and after ten days' labour, a breach was effected in one of the principal outworks. It was stormed and taken, upon which the garrison, including Holkar's troops, evacuated the town and citadel during the night, and leaving all their artillery and matériel behind, fled to Bhurtpore. Against that city General Lake had received instructions to apply his next efforts, and he arrived before it on the 2d of January, 1805, for the purpose of crushing, by a blow, the influence of its government, to whom all the disaffected rajahs and zemindars of the Dooab began to look as to a leader.

A British army has so rarely failed of overcoming, in India, the most determined resistance of its enemies, that Lord Lake may well be excused for having entered upon the siege of Bhurtpore with means quite inadequate to the importance of the enterprise. The city before which he sat down measures nearly eight miles in circumference, and is everywhere surrounded by a wall, composed partly of earth, partly of the trunks of enormous trees knit together with a degree of firmness, of which perhaps it is impossible to form an accurate conception, except after an ocular examination of the

place. Its bastions, bristled with heavy cannon, its ditch deep and wide, could, at the will of the governor, be flooded; and above all, the town itself was held by a garrison far surpassing, in respect to numbers, the army by which they were threatened. In addition to these striking disadvantages, Holkar's cavalry, restored to some degree of confidence, hovered around the English camp, while Ameer Khan, an Afghan by descent and one of his principal feudatories, took the field from Bundelcund, crossed the Jumna and Ganges, and committed great havoc in Rohilcund. His progress was, indeed, at one period so alarming, that Lord Lake was induced to send after him the greater part of his own cavalry, a measure which unavoidably laid the besiegers more open, than they would have otherwise been, to insult and injury from Holkar.

Thus circumstanced, and quite unable to establish a blockade, inasmuch as the utmost extent of his lines embraced but a third part of the circumference of the place, Lord Lake pressed the siege with all the vigour of which he was capable; and on the 9th of January a breach being declared practicable, orders were issued to storm: the assault took place the same night, and failed; nor was the result different, when, after sustaining incredible fatigue, a second breach was, on the 21st, effected, and the fate of a second attack hazarded. Still the general determined to persevere; and reinforcements arriving on the 10th

of February, the effect of more regular approaches was tried, and a third assault given. On this occasion a battalion of sepoys, the 12th regiment of Bengal infantry, boldly attacked a breach from which English soldiers recoiled; yet neither the passive courage of the Hindoos, nor the daring gallantry of the officers, availed to carry the place. The party was driven back with prodigious slaughter, and the whole face of the ruin was strewed with the dying and the dead. Lord Lake, mortified and surprised, appealed that night to the honour of the gallant 75th and 76th regiments, who, ashamed of their former backwardness, volunteered to carry the place, or perish; and well and nobly did they redeem their pledge, at day-break on the 21st. The place assaulted held out, but of those who strove to carry it, by far the larger proportion died in the breach; from which the wreck were withdrawn only by the repeated orders of their admiring and distressed commander.

By this time both parties had begun to grow weary of the contest—Lord Lake, because his guns were becoming unserviceable and his stores exhausted; the Bhurtpore Rajah, because, in spite of these successes, he could not hope long to support his independence against the strength of the British empire. This, however, was not the only consideration which had weight with him. Lord Lake, having been rejoined by his cavalry from the pursuit of Ameer Khan, planned and executed

a night movement upon Holkar's camp, which, though defeated on one occasion by the jingling of the men's scabbards, and the alarm thereby communicated to the enemy, succeeded when tried a second time, beyond the general's expectations. The scabbards having been on this occasion left behind, the British horsemen came upon the enemy so completely by surprise, that multitudes of Mahrattas were sabred ere they could mount, and the remainder fled, without striking a blow. This was fatal to the power of Holkar. Many of his most respectable chiefs hastened to tender their allegiance to the English; while the Rajah of Bhurtpore was glad to sue for peace, which was granted to him on the payment of twenty lacs of rupees. He renounced his alliance with the enemies of the British government, and relinquished various advantages which his original treaty with Lord Lake had secured to him.

The star of Holkar was now thoroughly obscured, and his ruin appeared inevitable, when it became suddenly known that Scindiah, in whose mind certain conditions annexed to the treaty of November, 1803, had long rankled, was preparing for a renewal of hostilities. Instead of retiring to his capital and reducing his military establishments, he began to collect troops from all quarters, and while he inveighed against the hardships to which he had been subjected, his columns were pushed forward in the direction of Bhopal, whence a corre-

spondence with Holkar might be opened. All this befell as early as the month of October, 1804, at which period also he became guilty of a glaring breach of good faith, by sanctioning, if he did not order, the plunder of the British resident's camp, and the detention of the resident himself in a state of surveillance. In a moment the march of a detachment from Bundelcund, which had been ordered up to reinforce Lord Lake, was suspended; the officer in command placed it in a position where it could impede, if not prevent a dash upon Calcutta, which Scindiah was suspected of attempting; while strong remonstrances were sent, in relation both to the insult offered to the resident, and the more than doubtful attitude which Scindiah had assumed. These, however, met with very little attention. Without releasing the resident, or condescending to reply to the complaints which the governor-general brought against himself, Scindiah turned his face towards Bhurtpore, to the vicinity of which he sent forward his cavalry with the avowed intention of mediating a peace between the Rajah and the English.

When the troops of Scindiah came within a march or two of Bhurtpore, the commander learned that the Rajah had already signed a treaty of peace with the British government. He sent forward a vakeel, whom the Rajah refused to see; at the same time that he gave ready admission within his posts to Holkar and the wreck of his army, who hastened to

join him. Lord Lake, instructed by the governor-general how it behoved him to act in such circumstances, immediately moved towards the position of the confederates; but they did not wait to receive him. Still retaining the resident in durance, despite of Lord Lake's remonstrances and protestations, they retreated first to Kutch, and afterwards to Ajmere, where a change took place in Scindiah's divan, and a more pacific line of policy was adopted. There was a chief called Ambajee Inglia, a man of great talents, of whom Scindiah entertained considerable jealousy, and whom Holkar, with his connivance, had latterly confined and plundered. Holkar, who distrusted Scindiah's firmness, and expected to find in Ambajee a willing instrument, restored him at this juncture to freedom and influence, and became, as far as his ambitious views were concerned, the first victim of his own duplicity. Ambajee took care to inflame the rekindling jealousy of the two princes, and a coldness ensued, in the highest degree favourable to that line of policy which a change in the person of the governor-general occasioned in the views and objects of the British government in India *.

* We have made no mention of the expedition fitted out in 1801, and which was so gallantly led by Sir David Baird into Egypt. It forms a striking incident in the personal history of Lord Wellesley; but being little, if at all, connected with the narrative of the rise and progress of the British empire in India, it seems scarcely to deserve a place in such a work as this.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Cornwallis—His System of neutral Policy—He dies, and is succeeded by Sir George Barlow—The same Policy pursued—Lord Minto innovates partially on the Non-interference Plan—Disturbed state of Central India—Lord Minto's dealings with the Mahrattas and Ameer Khan—Reduces the French and Dutch Settlements—The Pindarees—The Goorkas—Lord Minto resigns.

Lord Wellesley's administration was distinguished, from first to last, by a display of vigour, of judgment, and of foresight, such as have been very rarely united in the conduct of any servant of the British crown, either in Europe or in Asia. Though carefully instructed in the pacific views of his employers, and well disposed on quitting England to promote them, a short acquaintance with the state of Indian politics served to convince him, that the sentiments uttered by the great Lord Clive, more than a quarter of a century prior to his entrance on public life, were true as holy writ. He saw that the position assumed by the Company was one which it could not hope to maintain even for a year; that exposed at once to the jealousy of the native powers, and to the machinations of a rival so restless and

vindictive as France, the only choice submitted was to go on, or perish; and that the structure which it had required so many years of war and suffering to erect would become consolidated only by the establishment of British supremacy over the whole continent. We are not going to defend, in a moral point of view, every act performed by this accomplished statesman, for the purpose of realizing his judicious conception of the point to which affairs ought to be brought. It is past dispute that the system of subsidiary alliances, of which he was the author, encroached cruelly upon the rights of the native princes, while it reduced the people at the same time, more completely than they had ever been before, to a condition of absolute helplessness in all their dealings with their sovereigns. But it will probably be admitted that, in considering the course of all great political revolutions, he who looks through the medium of what may be termed the common rules of right and wrong will fail to behold events in their true colours. In all ages it seems to be a provision of nature, that tribes barbarous or half-civilized shall, when brought into contact with other tribes more polished than themselves, purchase an increase of refinement at the expense of their independence. It was in obedience to this law that the supremacy of Rome gradually extended itself over a large portion of the Old World; and in more respects than one the careful observer will detect, in the fortunes of the Roman and the Anglo-Indian

empires, a striking similarity. At all events Lord Wellesley found, on his arrival at Calcutta, that war must take place, either offensively, on his part, or its opposite. He wisely chose to anticipate the course of events by attacking his enemies; and to the success of his operations against Tippoo, and to the consequences arising out of it, all his subsequent dealings with the Mahrattas may be fairly traced back. As to his arrangement of the affairs of Oude, of Arcot, and of other dependent principalities, we have nothing further to say, than that they were forced upon him by contingencies over which he had no control.

Lord Wellesley had instructed the commanders of the English armies to push the war with Holkar to extremity; and in the event of Scindiah's continued hostility, to reduce his power also to the lowest ebb, when, on the 30th of July, 1805, the Marquis Cornwallis arrived to relieve him in the government of British India. It cannot be said that the circumstance in any degree affected him painfully—for he had expressed, so early as 1803, his desire to return to the milder climate of Europe—but the considerations which led the home authorities to indulge that desire, at that particular moment, were certainly not connected with his personal convenience or state of health. The truth indeed is, that both the Court of Directors and the King's ministers became alarmed at the progress which their own arms

were making; and as the conquests achieved, however rich in promises of future good, were found to occasion only an increased expense for the present, it was resolved to put an effective stop to them, by substituting an avowed pacific governor-general in the room of one whom it became fashionable to condemn as the reverse.

We have said that Lord Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta on the 30th of July, 1805. Though bending under the weight of years and infirmities he took the oaths and his seat at the council board on the same day; and on the 1st of August dictated a despatch to the Court of Directors, in which he passed a sentence of sweeping condemnation on the whole policy of his predecessor. He lamented the embarrassments into which he was pleased to consider that the subsidiary alliances with the secondary powers had brought the Company; he deprecated the war with Holkar, and the equivocal position in which matters stood towards Scindiah; and acting up to the spirit of these sentiments, he issued instructions to his representatives that they should yield all the points of difference between them and the enemy, should such a sacrifice be requisite in order to obtain peace. Even the insult offered to the Company by the plunder and imprisonment of Mr. Jenkins, the resident, he was willing to pass over; and as to disputes about this or that fort, or this or that territory, the idea of obstructing, for the sake of such things, a general pacifica-

tion, he held as preposterous in the extreme. It was well for the honour of the British name that Lord Lake, in anticipation of such advices, had already taken steps which rendered an implicit obedience to them impracticable.

The first acts of the new government led to a long and interesting correspondence between the Marquis Cornwallis and Lord Lake. It was the wish of the former to cast himself loose from all connexion with the Rajahs of Joudpoor, Jeypoor, Bhurtpoor, Macherry, Boondee, and other chiefs, whose good offices in the war with the Mahrattas Lord Wellesley had purchased by assurances of protection. His plea in pressing this point amounted to a persuasion, first, that the line of the Jumna would form the most secure frontier to the English territories; and, secondly, that the exposed situation of the provinces in question would, by inducing Scindiah and Holkar to attack them, give so much occupation to the Mahratta armies, that neither leisure nor means would be found to molest the English or their immediate dependents. Against this opinion Lord Lake justly argued, that the Jumna was everywhere passable except during the rains; that the faith of the Company was plighted to the chiefs in question; and that, were it otherwise, they would constitute a much more effectual protection to the English territories, if sheltered by the assurance of an English alliance, than if left to maintain from their own resources contests to which they were unequal. But

Lord Lake did not stop here. Apprehensive of what actually occurred, an order to waive the demanded release of Mr. Jenkins, he contrived to obtain, through one of Scindiah's confidential friends, a voluntary concession of that point; and greatly to his own delight, as well as to the credit of the British name, was enabled to suppress a letter addressed by Lord Cornwallis to the Mahratta, in which a matter hitherto treated as the prelude to all negotiation was surrendered. This done, there was little difficulty in adjusting other differences, inasmuch as to yield became now the line of a diplomatist's duty; while Scindiah, not less surprised than gratified at the moderation of the tone assumed towards him, threw very few impediments in the way of its discharge.

Exactly corresponding with the sentiments which he entertained relative to the subsidiary alliances in Hindustan were Lord Cornwallis's views of the relation in which the British government stood to the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. By means of the former he conceived that the English were involved in a labyrinth of Mahratta politics, not more unprofitable to themselves than mischievous to the other party; while of the connexion with the Nizam he spoke as of an arrangement at once destructive of all energy in that prince's government, and rife in dangers and difficulties to his allies. Still he considered it necessary to act here with greater caution than he was disposed to exercise in his dealings with the

secondary powers. He dealt only in general reasoning, probably with the design, after the north should be satisfactorily settled, to apply his undivided attention to the adjustment of the affairs of the south. But it was not his fortune to attain these objects. Impatient of the delays which the proceedings of Lord Lake occasioned, he set out from Calcutta, to place himself at the head of the army; and being smitten with a fatal disease soon afterwards, died on the 5th of October, 1805, at Gazeepore, near Benares.

By this event the chief administration of affairs passed into the hands of Sir George Barlow, a civilian of high character and great integrity, and an ardent admirer of the policy, both foreign and domestic, of which Lord Cornwallis had been the advocate. His first communication to Lord Lake made that officer aware, that from the line of proceeding marked out by his illustrious predecessor, he was determined not to deviate; and the negotiations already opened with Scindiah were carried forward with diligence and haste. These ended, on the 23d of November, in an arrangement, by which, with the exception of one or two trivial alterations, the treaty of Sarju Angengawm, concluded with Lord Wellesley, was confirmed. Gwalior and the larger portion of Gohud were indeed ceded, not as due by the terms of any previous agreement, but from considerations of friendship; and the river Chumbul, as affording a distinct line of demarcation, was declared

to be the boundary between the two states. On the other hand, Scindiah renounced certain jaghires and pensions, as well as the districts held by him as private property, for which provision had been made in the previous treaty, the British government agreeing to allow to himself personally an annual pension of four lacs of rupees, and to assign jaghires to his wife and daughter, the first of two lacs, the second of one lac of rupees per annum, in the British territories of Hindustan. In like manner the British government engaged to enter into no treaties with the Rajahs of Oudepoor, Joudpoor, Kutch, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Scindiah, in Malwa, Mewar or Merwar; and it left him free to make what conquests he chose from the Holkar family, between the rivers Taptee and Chumbul.

While the relations of commerce (for of alliance no mention was made) were thus restored between Scindiah and the British government, Holkar, who had quitted Ajmere so early as the month of September, retreated in a north-westerly direction, with the avowed design of seeking support from the Sheiks. His whole force consisted of not more than twelve thousand cavalry, a weak corps of ill-equipped infantry, and thirty guns, of which all, except the horse, were left at Dadgru, whence they committed numerous excesses in the British territories adjacent. No respite, however, was granted to him. Lord Lake, putting himself at the head of his cavalry, followed the

freebooter from post to post, while numerous corps, both from the Bombay and Bengal armies, cut off his means of return. Holkar, driven at last to the verge of ruin, sued for peace. It was granted with the utmost readiness, on terms of which the following may be taken as a correct abstract.

Holkar renounced all right to the districts of Tauk Rampoorah, Boondee, &c., as well as to such as lay north of the Chumbul. He relinquished all claims upon Kooch and Bundelcund, upon the British government, and upon its allies. He engaged to entertain no Europeans in his service without the consent of the authorities at Calcutta, and agreed to return into Hindustan by a route which should be prescribed to him. The Company again promised not to interfere with any Rajahs or other dependents of Holkar south of the Chumbul; and to restore, within eighteen months of the ratification of the treaty, Chandore, Jaulnah, and other places beyond the Taptee and Godavery, which had been wrested from him during the course of the war. Finally, it was stipulated that an individual called Sirjee Rao Gautka, a determined and treacherous foe to the British nation, should be excluded from the service of Holkar, as he had, by the same means, been expelled from the service of Scindiah.

With the general tenor of this treaty, drawn up in strict agreement with instructions issued by himself, the governor-general ex-

pressed his high approbation. One or two of the articles had indeed been inserted with a view to facilitate certain arrangements which he desired to make elsewhere; such, for example, as the cession of Tauk Rampoorah to the English, and the removal of Boondee from its dependence on Holkar. But when he found, on inquiry, that Scindiah would not accept the former, and that the latter could be associated with some other chief only on the guarantee of British protection, the policy of insisting on the fulfilment of the articles appeared to him more than doubtful. It was to no purpose that Lord Lake protested against this conclusion, and showed that the faith of the government was pledged to the two princes. Sir George Barlow, considering only that to retain them in his own hands or to guarantee their independence would alike involve the Company in difficulties, continued inflexible; and these chieftains, who, to the utmost of their power, had served the English faithfully during the war, were consigned, at the return of peace, to the tender mercies of an irritated Mahratta superior.

It was not, however, in his dealings with the chiefs of Tauk Rampoorah and Boondee alone that Sir George Barlow permitted his anxiety to escape from the embarrassments of a guarantee to interfere with the laws of strict justice. The Rajah of Jeypoor had early accepted a subsidiary alliance with the English. He had not, it is true, at one period, displayed an

excess of zeal in forwarding the common cause; indeed his lukewarmness was such as to call forth a declaration from Lord Cornwallis that the treaty should be considered as dissolved; but of late, during Holkar's flight to the north, Lord Lake had found him eminently useful, and assured him, in return, of the continued protection of his government. Sir George Barlow gave orders that such protection should be at once withdrawn. He would not so much as consent to a suspension of that order till Holkar should have passed the district; indeed he scrupled not to assign as his reason for such haste, that he was unwilling to involve the Company in any quarrel which might arise between the two chiefs. The consequence was that Holkar committed grievous excesses while traversing the province, while the Rajah, though he complained of the wrong, received no redress.

Having at the expense of such sacrifices got rid of a war which, but for the vigorous proceedings of Lord Wellesley, would have been perpetuated by the anxiety displayed to put an end to it, Sir George Barlow turned his attention to the affairs of Poonah and Hyderabad, with the half-formed design of introducing many important changes into the relations which subsisted between these courts and the British government. An attentive consideration of the subject, however, served to convince him that the system of interference in the internal administration which it had been the

policy of Lord Wellesley to establish, was best adapted to secure the continuance of the British power in that part of India. Had he withdrawn his troops from the country, there were enemies ready to supply their place; while the Nizam himself, instead of regaining the freedom of which he was supposed to have been deprived, would have become a mere tool in their hands. Though sacrificing theories which he had so long and so fondly cherished, Sir George Barlow, therefore, determined to leave matters as he found them, by keeping up the influence of his own government at the Nizam's durbar, and securing the appointment of ministers on whose fidelity he believed that he could depend. In like manner he soon discovered that any relaxation of the treaty of Bassein must inevitably rekindle the smothered ambition of the Mahratta chiefs, and lead in due time to a renewal of hostilities. Under such circumstances he restricted his more free policy, if we may use the expression, to the dealings which he had with Scindiah, Holkar, Ragojee Bhoonslah, and the lesser princes of Hindustan, supporting elsewhere a system of which experience had demonstrated the utility, and from which it was very evident that no deviation could, without great hazard, be admitted.

Upon these principles, Sir George Barlow conducted the government of British India up to the 9th of July, 1807 *, when Lord Minto

* There occurred, under Sir George Barlow's administration, a mutiny among the native troops in the Carna-

arrived from England to relieve him of his charge. This new functionary became almost immediately aware that the system of non-interference had not answered the expectations of those with whom it originated. The territories of the petty princes, which extended midway between those of the Company and of the great Mahratta chiefs, were universally overrun by bands of freebooters, composed partly of a race of robbers by profession, called Pindarries, partly of disbanded soldiers from the armies of Holkar and Scindiah, and partly of hordes of irregulars, whom, at the conclusion of the war, the British government had turned loose upon the world. Loud and reiterated were the complaints which the Rajahs uttered in consequence of the prevalence of a state of things so monstrous. They represented

tic, of which, though sufficiently alarming at the moment, it were out of place to give here any detailed account. Enough is done, when we state that an injudicious order respecting the dress of the sepoys, appearing at a moment when missionary exertions chanced to be unusually great, the sons of Tippoo and their adherents took advantage of the circumstance to excite, to a furious degree, the religious prejudices of the sepoys. They rose in rebellion at Velore; put to death many European officers, and a considerable portion of the sixty-ninth regiment, and were not quieted at last, till Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a body of dragoons, had sabred a large number of them. For a time serious apprehensions were entertained lest the disposition should prove general; but this, on inquiry, was found not to be the case. The obnoxious orders were repealed, and the troops returned every where to their allegiance.

to the Company's agents, that India had never been without one great paramount power, to which the lesser sovereignties looked for the general preservation of order; and that the power in question having passed into the hands of the Company, from the obligations attendant upon it they ought not to shrink. Lord Minto felt and acknowledged the justice of this appeal; though to put a stop to the evils complained of, yet adhere to the policy which he had been taught to consider as the best, was no such easy matter.

It was not, however, in Hindustan alone that cases of difficulty arose to harass and perplex the new governor-general. The death of Meer Alum, the steady friend of the English, occasioned a change greatly for the worse in the disposition of the Nizam's government, which the instructions conveyed to Lord Minto by the home authorities hindered him from counteracting by any extraordinary exertion of the power which he possessed. The Directors, swayed no doubt by the most upright motives, recommended that the influence of their functionaries should be exerted only to obtain a reform of the Nizam's military establishment; in other words, that the Nizam should be left free to administer the fiscal and judicial affairs of the Deccan, according to his own sense of justice, and immemorial usage. Moneere al Mulk, the successor of Meer Alum, having been raised to office in spite of the avowed disinclination of Lord Minto, made use

of the improved army only as an instrument with which to oppress and plunder the people; for Chand u Lal, whom the governor-general had prevailed upon the Nizam to associate with the other, possessed neither influence nor dignity sufficient to restrain his colleague. The consequence was, that while the Nizam himself became less and less cordial, the people ceased to regard the English as their friends; for it was said, and with justice, that their support of the actual administration forced the minister and his executive officers from those salutary fears which operate as a restraint upon the most despotic rulers.

Of the bad effects of these arrangements Lord Minto was now sensible; though here, as well as in reference to the frontier chiefs of Hindustan, he found it impossible, consistently with the orders received from home, to devise a remedy. He was less scrupulous in the part which he took in the proceedings of the Peishwah, and certain of his feudatories. It will be borne in mind that during the campaign of 1805, the southern jaghiredars entered cordially into the views of the English; and were, as a reward for their good conduct, set free, at the close of the war, from all other than a species of feudal dependence on the Peishwah. Not long after the arrival of Lord Minto at Calcutta, there arose a serious disagreement between the Peishwah and these chiefs; he seeking to bring them back to a state of total vassalage—they refusing to perform even those con-

ditions of qualified allegiance to which the definitive treaty had declared them to be subject. Both parties threatened an appeal to arms; and the Peishwah, relying on his engagements with the English government, demanded the aid of a British army in reducing his refractory nobles to obedience. Lord Minto saw that he stood on extremely delicate ground, yet he scrupled not to put down, by a display of firmness and decision, a movement which might have led to a renewal of the original Mahratta confederacy. He readily promised to assist the Peishwah, provided he were willing, in the end, to abide by the decision of the British government; and though the Peishwah made no concealment of his reluctance, he was compelled to yield. In like manner the jaghiredars, after vainly protesting against the measure, submitted to the command of the governor-general; and returned, in accordance with the treaty of 1803, to a state of easy vassalage under the Peishwah.

In the meanwhile, Holkar, who, in 1806, was seized with a malady which ended in madness, became incapable of conducting the government of his own country. How far the crisis might or might not be hastened by events, we are not prepared to say; but it is certain, that what appeared to partake at first of the character of mere excitement, degenerated after a while into absolute insanity. Holkar endeavoured to lessen his expenses by disbanding twenty thousand horse, to all of whom he

owed heavy arrears of pay, which he was unable to discharge. They took his nephew, Khundee Rao, whom he had committed to their safe keeping as a hostage, and declaring him the only legal representative of the Holkar family, hoisted the standard of rebellion. It was to no purpose that the child (for he was only ten years of age) remonstrated against the proceeding, and taxed them, beforehand, with the very crime which they by and by committed. Holkar soon appeased the mutineers, partly by the settlement of their demands, partly by leading against them his regular infantry and overwhelming artillery; and they, as a matter of course, surrendered into his hands the young prince of whom they had made temporary use. Holkar, acting, as is said, under the advice of his gooroo, Chimna Bhow, caused the unfortunate child to be poisoned; and followed up the crime by putting to death, soon afterwards, Casce Row, whom Scindiah had early given up to him. From that period his malady gained ground upon him from day to day, till in the end he was seized by his courtiers, and placed in a state of restraint.

We have had occasion more than once to speak of Ameer Khan, as one of Holkar's most powerful dependents and leaders. A Mohamedan by faith, and a mere military adventurer, this person early joined Holkar after his flight from Poonah, and obtained from him, in return for what was then an important reinforcement of

one thousand five hundred men, a promise that he should enjoy one-half of the conquest which their joint armies might achieve. Holkar deferred the performance of the engagement, till the mutiny, of which we have just spoken, broke out, and even then discharged it very imperfectly. He granted to him not the half of his dominions, but a few provinces, among which were included the districts of Perawoe and Tontk; and having made over to him the collection of the tribute from Kotah, dismissed him, to all appearance, from his service.

Ameer Khan, who still kept on foot a numerous army, withdrew, for a space, from Holkar's court, and becoming again, what he had originally been, a freebooter, carried on a war against numerous petty princes, sometimes on his own account, sometimes as the ally of one or other as often as they differed among themselves. All this while, however, he kept open his influence at Indore, and became, on Holkar's seizure, the avowed supporter of Toolsah Baee, a beautiful and clever woman, to whom, though only the mistress of Holkar, all the authority of the state was immediately entrusted. With the strange current of events which threw her and the insane prince into the power of a bold adventurer, we have here no concern. Enough is done when we state that Dherma Kowee, raised by the favour of Toolsah Baee to the command of the disciplined infantry, became inflamed with the desire of ascending to a still more lofty station, and obtaining possession of

the person of Holkar and the fair regent, determined to make of them such use as circumstances might dictate. They were delivered from their perilous situation by the prompt exertions of Ameer Khan, who strove, and not unsuccessfully, to establish a paramount influence in the government; but the times being, as yet, unripe for the development of all his projects, he soon afterwards withdrew to prosecute schemes of ambition and conquest elsewhere.

The British government beheld, not indeed with indifference, but without any active endeavour to arrest it, the stream of anarchy overspread as well the Mahratta states of Scindiah and Holkar, as the provinces of many of those chiefs whom they had originally engaged to defend. Ameer Khan's movement towards Berar—for that principality early attracted his cupidity—roused them from their lethargy. Lord Minto felt that the establishment of a Mahomedan sovereignty so immediately in conjunction with the dominions of the Nizam could hardly fail of producing effects unfavourable to the Company's interests; and he determined to interfere, first by remonstrance, eventually, should remonstrance fail, by arms in the Rajah's favour. Ameer Khan treated his interference with contempt, and an army, of which Colonel Close assumed the command, immediately took the field. It was the original intention of the government to push Ameer Khan to extremity, and to destroy at once a

rising power, of which they entertained well-founded apprehensions. With this view, Colonel Close's corps was supported by a Bengal detachment from the state of Bundelcund, and the united forces, entering Malwa, made themselves masters of Seronge, Ameer's capital. But at this juncture, Lord Minto's designs underwent a change, and the positive orders which had been originally transmitted to Colonel Close were withdrawn. It was even left to his discretion, either to render the war a war of extermination, or to content himself with covering the Bhoonslah's provinces; and as he was not indistinctly assured that the latter course would accord best with the wishes of his superiors, he, as might be expected, adopted it. The consequence was that Ameer Khan retired with his army unbroken, and made ready to prosecute new schemes of conquest in some other quarter of India.

Aware that a similar danger would occur as soon as the season of active operations returned, should the territory of Berar be left unguarded, Lord Minto lost no time in proposing to the Rajah a treaty, by the terms of which that prince might obtain the permanent support of a body of British troops. The Rajah, in whose mind the pacification of 1803 still rankled, exhibited as much reluctance to accede to this proposition, as he had displayed jealousy when Colonel Close began first to move into Malwa; but finding that Close's corps was ordered into cantonments, and that he

had no force of his own with which to oppose the Mohammedan, his opinions underwent a change. He expressed himself willing to accept the subsidiary army, provided he were not charged with its maintenance, a stipulation to which the governor-general could by no means listen. A negotiation accordingly began, full of trickery and chicane on the one side, and of plain-dealing on the other, which ended at last in the adoption by the Rajah of the conditions proposed by Lord Minto. But by this time new cares began to press upon the notice of the British government; and the troops which might have been afforded to the Bhoonslah, had he acted with greater candour, were called away to perform useful service in another field.

Ever since the downfall of Tippoo, and the destruction of the corps of M. Perron and his associates, the influence of France in Indian politics, if felt at all, had been too insignificant to occasion any serious uneasiness. The possibility of recovering that influence never, indeed, ceased to occupy some portion of Napoleon's thoughts: at least he took care from time to time to renew the threat of invasion; whether for the mere purpose of exciting alarm, or because he really meditated the design, we have no ground to offer an opinion. But if the former were his only motive, it is past dispute that he adopted measures well calculated to lead to an opposite conclusion. Early in the year 1808, an embassy was dispatched to the court of Persia, which, as it was reported to

have met from the Khan with a very flattering reception, excited, as was natural, serious apprehension both in London and at Fort William. Lord Minto hastened to counteract the designs of the enemy by a mission, of which Colonel Malcolm was at the head; but the king, refusing to treat with the representative of the Company except through the medium of a subordinate, Colonel Malcolm very judiciously rejected the terms, and returned to Calcutta. It was not, however, in consequence of the bearing of the Persian monarch that the mission alluded to became subject to crosses and embarrassments. Colonel Malcolm, on reaching Persia, found that an accredited agent from the king of England was in the field before him; and that the ministry, with unaccountable inconsideration, had cast the Company entirely into the shade, by assuming a right to deal with the court of Teheran by direct negotiation. Never was measure less politic, with reference as well to the Company as to the Crown; for the former it clearly degraded in the eyes of all other Oriental powers, while the latter was placed by it in a position of uncalled-for difficulty in its dealings with one, at least, of those European governments which it was not the interest of England to offend. Neither these considerations, however, nor the obvious truth that the great distance of England from Persia threw impediments in the way which could not affect the diplomatic proceedings of the Company, seem to have had the smallest weight.

Sir Harford Jones refused to pay the slightest deference to instructions issued at Calcutta, and the governor-general was in consequence compelled to abandon a wise project which he had entertained of seizing an island in the Persian Gulf, and waiting there that change in the sentiments of the Court of which he all along anticipated the occurrence. The results are well known. The French, failing to keep their engagement, Persia soon saw that she had erred, and would have returned, of her own accord, to her natural state of reliance upon British faith; but it was the fashion of the times to subsidize every power which seemed willing to accept a subsidy, and Persia could not be dealt with less liberally than the rest. A treaty was concluded in March, 1809, by which Great Britain bound herself, so long as she should be at war with Russia, to pay to Persia an annual stipend of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, on condition that Persia would assist Great Britain in repelling any attempt on the part of France to invade the Company's provinces in India. Thus was England made to pay at the moment for an alliance which would have been voluntarily tendered had she kept aloof; and in a few years afterwards reduced to the necessity of choosing between an open and undisguised breach of faith, or the commission of an act of direct hostility against a powerful nation, then in alliance with herself*.

* Our readers will doubtles recollect the very awkward

Not satisfied with securing the support of Persia, Lord Minto turned his attention to the state of the countries south of the Sutlege, with which Sir George Barlow, in prosecution of his system of non-interference, had unwisely dissolved all connexion. He found it just as little satisfactory as that of the Mahratta tribes, and of the principalities and districts of central India. Runjeet Singh, the Rajah of Lahore, an ambitious and comparatively powerful chief, taking advantage of the feuds which continually sprang up among his neighbours, interposed with a strong arm, not to restore order, but to extend the bounds of his own dominions. He had even established his authority over several of these neighbours, when the governor-general, after fully explaining his conduct in an elaborate despatch to the Court of Directors, made up his mind to check an ambition, which threatened, ere long, to become formidable. In accordance with the wishes both of the people and their rulers, all the Seikh tribes between the Jumna and the Sutlege were taken under the formal protection of the English government. To support that proclamation, an army was assembled, with which Runjeet Singh showed a disposition to abide a rencounter; for he chanced

position in which the treaty of 1809—a treaty concluded when Russia chanced to be the ally of Napoleon—placed this country with reference to the same Russia, then an ally of England, in the year 1820. Persia was a feeble state, it is true, and was dealt with accordingly.

at the moment to be engaged in the siege of a fortress situated within the prescribed limits of the Company's territory. But a little reflection taught him the hopelessness of such a struggle, and he withdrew to his own country, overawed, if not satisfied. This was soon afterwards followed by a treaty, by which Runjeet bound himself to maintain on the left of the Sutlege only such a body of troops as might be necessary for the maintenance of internal order; and a British detachment being left at Lodeana, the remainder fell back within the old boundary line.

Such were the measures adopted to secure the integrity of British India on its north-western face;—for the embassy to the court of Cabul, as it displayed only the helplessness of that principality, deserves no particular notice. To secure it from molestation at other points, a more daring line of procedure was adopted. We have had slight occasion to notice of late the operations of the enemy in the Indian seas, where, indeed, the power both of France and her allies was reduced to a very low ebb. It is true that several important stations still remained to them; such, for example, as the islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius, to the south, with Java and its dependencies among the Sunda isles; but the strength of their marine had been for many years so much reduced, that, for purposes of annoyance at least, the colonies in question proved wholly unserviceable. In the winter of 1808, a squadron of

frigates sailed from various ports of France and Holland; and escaping, as if by miracle, the British cruisers which swarmed in all directions, arrived, in the spring of 1809, on the Indian station. They gave to the enemy a superiority so decided in those seas, as to occasion serious mischief to the trade; while apprehensions, not unnatural under the circumstances, began to be entertained of consequences even more disastrous. Lord Minto, having extricated himself from the embarrassments of Mahratta intrigues, determined to anticipate any movements which the enemy might meditate; and, by reducing the islands, to strip their very cruisers of points whence they could continue to annoy the commerce of the country. With this view he directed a force to assemble in the Carnatic, which he proposed to strengthen with every disposable man from the north, when an occurrence took place, which not only impeded his preparations, but shook to its base the whole fabric of British power throughout the East.

We took occasion some time ago to allude to the heavy drain which Lord Mornington's bold but necessary policy occasioned on the Company's finances, and to the complaints which were uttered in consequence, as well among the proprietors of India stock, as in quarters which could sustain no injury by the evil, if such it really was. To meet the difficulties of their situation, the Directors very naturally required that the utmost economy

should be introduced into all their establishments abroad; and they found in Sir George Barlow, then at the head of the Indian government, a willing promoter of all their views. Sir George, when relieved at Fort William, returned to Fort St. George, with the chief management of which he had been entrusted, and there took up a plan for the reduction of the expenses in the army department which had been devised by Sir John Cradock a short time previously. Hitherto a custom had prevailed, by which the officers in command of native battalions were allowed to provide for their men what are called camp-equipments; they themselves receiving an annual allowance, as well during peace as in the seasons of war, more than adequate, no doubt, for the purpose. It was now ordered, without any previous consultation with the commander-in-chief—without any explanation of the causes which dictated the regulation—that the custom should cease. We are not prepared to say that the grounds on which the proceeding was afterwards defended proved to be either fanciful or unsound. On the contrary, the experience of former wars had shown that the individuals with whom commanding officers contracted were not always careful to supply an adequate or convenient equipment to the troops; while during peace, as there was little demand for such equipment, the allowance could be regarded only as a perquisite to the commandants. Still the mode of publishing a regulation not in

itself very likely to please—the abruptness with which a usage coeval with the existence of the Madras army was abolished—was, to say the least of it, very ungracious, and, as a necessary consequence, very ill-judged. A feeling of discontent arose throughout the army; and General M'Dowal, having (we say not how prudently) issued an order complaining of the measure, almost all the regiments dependent on the presidency became mutinous. Our limits will not permit us to give of this alarming transaction any more than the outlines. We must be content, therefore, to say, that more than two-thirds of the officers attached to the native troops took part in it; that the sepoys, though tampered with, preserved a cautious neutrality, except in a few instances where they followed their leaders; that Seringapatam was seized by the mutineers; and that two battalions, finding their comrades besieged, risked a battle with the king's troops while striving to bring them relief. In a word, the existence of the Company's authority hung for a while in the balance; and, but for the mild yet firm interference of Lord Minto, might have kicked the beam. But the governor-general no sooner became acquainted with the alarming state of affairs than he hastened to Madras; and that which neither the violence nor the obstinacy of his subordinate could accomplish, the profound respect entertained for Lord Minto's wisdom and integrity brought about. The officers has-

tened to send in their submission, and order was restored throughout southern India.

Having accomplished this important object, Lord Minto proceeded to carry into execution the plans which he had matured for the reduction of the enemy's settlements. With this view, a body of three thousand six hundred and fifty troops, of whom one thousand eight hundred were Europeans, sailed from Madras roads early in June, being joined on the 20th by a reinforcement of one thousand men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Keats, from Rodriguez. The whole effected a landing on the 6th of July on the western coast of the island of Bourbon. Two days were expended in making the necessary preparations for the siege of St. Denis, the capital of the settlement; and the guns, with ample stores, had been brought up, when, on the 10th, a flag of truce came from the town, with an offer of surrender. It was, of course, accepted, upon such terms as the relative state of the belligerents seemed to authorise; and the island, with the shipping in its ports, and all the public property laid up in its depôts, passed into the hands of the British government. Nor were the operations at the Mauritius more difficult during their progress or less satisfactory in their result. On the 29th of November, ten thousand men, under Major-General Abercrombie, disembarked. On the 2nd of December a smart skirmish took place at the out-posts; and on the 3d, just as the general was about to enter

seriously upon the campaign, the place submitted. Its ancient name was restored to it, and the rights and privileges of individuals being secured to them, the Mauritius, like the isle of Bourbon, became a dependency on the British crown.

Eminently useful as these conquests were admitted to be, and they were vigorously followed up by the subjugation of all the smaller islands within reach, Lord Minto felt that his labours would continue incomplete so long as Java, with its dependencies, remained as a place of refuge for the cruisers and privateers which infested those seas. The attack of that settlement was, however, an enterprise which required at once mature consideration and extensive means, not only by reason of the state of admirable defence in which it was understood to be placed, but because of its distance from the continent of India. But having well calculated the chances, and satisfied himself as to the propriety of the measure, Lord Minto permitted no consideration of expense or possible hazard to deter him. He directed a powerful army to be collected at Madras, gave orders for a British battalion, the 78th Highlanders, to follow from Bengal, and made ready to proceed in person, though of course as a volunteer, with the expedition of which Sir Samuel Auchmuty took the command.

The troops destined to take part in this gallant enterprise began to assemble in the beginning of March, 1811, and before the end of

the month upwards of eleven thousand men, natives and Europeans, were encamped round Madras. On the 18th of April, the first division, escorted by a squadron of King's ships and Company's cruisers, put to sea, and reaching Malacca, the point of rendezvous, delayed there till the 78th, as well as the remainder of the Carnatic troops, overtook them. Here it was found necessary to leave in hospital not fewer than twelve hundred men; of whom many died shortly after the departure of their comrades, so that, in spite of the junction of the Highlanders, the available strength of the army became reduced to little more than ten thousand men; but the best spirit pervaded them; they reposed implicit confidence in their officers; and the presence of the governor-general, at once to witness and reward their exertions, was not without its effect. When, therefore, after repeated delays, they disembarked on the 4th of August, at Chillingelling, a village distant about twelve miles from Batavia, there was not a man, from the general to the trumpeter, who appeared to entertain the faintest misgiving.

The arrangements for landing were made with so much judgment that the enemy did not venture to oppose them, and the troops gained the shore, without the occurrence of a single accident, in the course of four-and-twenty hours. On the 6th a forward movement was made across the Anjol, on the road to Batavia, where General Jansens, the governor, was

understood to have left a garrison, while, with his principal corps, represented as at least ten thousand strong, he took up and fortified a position on the ridges and high roads about Cornelis. As the column advanced, dense clouds of smoke were seen to hang over the town, and a suspicion arose that the garrison, after setting fire to the place, had abandoned it. Immediately Colonel Gillespie, an officer of tried courage and conduct, was sent forward, at the head of his brigade, and the conjecture proving to be correct, he took quiet possession of the place. This done, and order being fully restored, he again moved on, and arrived on the 10th at a cantonment called Weltevreede, where, about two miles in front of his intrenched camp, General Jansens had established a post. Gillespie attacked it with great vigour, and, driving the enemy before him, made way for the approach of the main body, which bivouacked that night within view of the enemy's fires, and at a long cannon-shot from their piquets.

The position of Cornelis was very formidable, consisting of an entrenched camp, covered on either flank by a river, and protected in front by a chain of redoubts and heavy batteries. Nearly three hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the works, of which the defence was maintained by full ten thousand men, many of them Europeans, and the rest natives, drilled after the European fashion, and commanded by Dutch and French officers.

Against two of the most formidable of the redoubts, which protected a double approach to the position, Sir Samuel Auchmuty caused batteries to be raised; and a heavy fire being opened, the cannonade continued, almost without interruption, till the 26th. It produced so much effect that, by the evening of the 25th, the enemy's guns had ceased to reply; and Auchmuty, eager not to throw away an opportunity, issued orders for the assault to be given at day-break on the morning of the 26th. Nothing could exceed the coolness and gallantry of the troops on that occasion. Two columns, led on by Colonels Gillespie and Gipps, carried the outworks with the bayonet, and following the fugitives across the bridges of planks, which they left them no leisure to remove, forced their way into the camp. A scene of indescribable confusion followed. The enemy, who had fought with resolution in defence of the advanced redoubts, dispersed and fled at the approach of the English, who, besides killing vast numbers, made not fewer than five thousand prisoners. General Jansens himself, followed only by a weak escort of cavalry, effected his escape.

Complete and irretrievable as his defeat had been, Jansens, with the characteristic doggedness of his nation, determined, even now, to reject the terms which were offered to him, continued his defence of the island. He used every exertion to collect a second army, threw garrisons into one or two strong holds,

and continued by his proclamations to animate the people to a steady resistance of the invaders; but the skill and activity of the English commanders proved more than a match for his stubborn valour. Detachments were sent round in light squadrons to attack the garrisons along the coast, of which almost all, one after another, submitted; while the general himself, moving round to Samarang, proposed from that fort to push his conquests into the interior. General Jansens became, at length, convinced that further opposition was useless. He sent to demand a cessation of hostilities; and on the 16th of September was signed a convention which placed Java, with the neighbouring island of Madura—the last of all the settlements which originally belonged to France—in subjection to the British Government.

While these great events were in progress, there occurred, in other parts of India, one or two matters, of which, though for the most part involving few results of any consequence, it may be necessary to give an account. Among these may be enumerated the death of Shah Alum, the blind and aged emperor of Hindustan, who expired at Delhi, in the year 1806, and was succeeded in his nominal sovereignty by his son Akbar Shah. This circumstance produced no visible effect on the condition either of the English or the native powers; for the new emperor, however anxious to increase his influence, soon learned to feel that

the design was impracticable. In like manner, an attempt on the part of the Travancore dewan, to cast aside his own and his master's dependence on the Company, utterly failed of success. As it began, moreover, in guile, and was conducted with some violence, prompt and energetic measures were adopted in its suppression, and the principality became, more than ever, a mere appendage to the presidency of Fort St. George. Bundelcund also, which under the loose rule of a weak native government presented a wide arena, in which every discontented chieftain might exercise the business of a freebooter, attracted the attention of the authorities of Calcutta, and felt their power. Troops were marched into the province; the principal strong holds, including Adjeghur and Callinjur, were captured, and the turbulent zemindars reduced to pay obedience to those laws, of which, till now, they had scarcely known the weight. In the affairs of Oude, on the other hand, over a portion of which the absolute authority of the Nabob Vizier had been guaranteed, Lord Minto conceived that he possessed no moral right to interfere. He learned, indeed, with regret, that the people were oppressed by their chieftains, and that the Nabob, either unable or unwilling to restrain the violence of these men, afforded them no redress. But though he scrupled not to advise the erection within the provinces of regular courts of judicature, Lord Minto positively declined to employ military means for

the purpose of ensuring obedience to his wishes. It will be borne in mind that, by the treaty of 1802, a corps of British troops was placed at the Nabob's disposal; which he was free to exercise both in the defence of his territories from a foreign enemy and in the maintenance of domestic tranquillity. These troops Captain Baillie, the resident, threatened to withdraw, in the event of a continued rejection of the Governor-General's proposals; and he even went so far, while waiting for instructions, as to release them, on his own responsibility, from paying obedience to the Nabob's orders; but Lord Minto, though reprobating the obstinacy of the Nabob, refused his sanction to a measure which he justly characterized as arbitrary and oppressive. The consequence was, that the Nabob continued to manage his province in his own way; and the country became daily less and less fertile, the people more and more wretched.

We had occasion to speak some time ago of certain troops of marauders, which, under the denomination of Pindarries, committed fearful havoc among the defenceless villages of central India and the frontier provinces of Hindustan. Of their origin and mode of acting, we shall find another opportunity to give an account; in the mean while we must be content to state, that though the advance of Colonel Close into Malwa, when interposing between Ameer Khan and the Rajah of Berar, drove them, for the moment, into quiet, the

British troops were no sooner withdrawn than they again overspread the face of the country like a deluge. No language, indeed, would suffice to convey an accurate idea of the horrible barbarities which marked their course, or of the sufferings of the unhappy tribes across whose settlements they swept. Men were tortured, women and children abused, in order to extract treasure, while the produce of the earth was licked up by their horses, as if a plague of locusts had fallen upon the land. For some time they exercised their cruelties only among the subjects of the native princes; abstaining with great care from a violation of those districts to which the British government had extended its protection; but in the year 1812 even this rule was broken. A party burst into Murzapoor, and left behind them at their departure their customary marks, in villages burnt, fields laid waste, and their cultivators murdered.

Lord Minto, a cautious, but not a timid statesman, was not slow in determining that an effectual stop could be put to this atrocious system only by the total extirpation of the lawless hordes by whom it was pursued. As, however, it seemed impossible to attain that object without, at least, incurring the hazard of a second Mahratta war, he conceived that he should not be justified in making an appeal to arms till he had obtained the sanction of the home authority; and hence, though he remonstrated against the violence offered, he

attempted nothing more than to bring before the Directors, a correct statement of the position in which affairs stood. His despatch called forth, indeed, no answer of which he was himself enabled to take advantage, nevertheless, it proved eminently serviceable in disabusing the public mind, and paving the way for measures which, under his able and high-minded successor, placed England in her only true position towards all the powers of India.

In the meanwhile there arose, on the northern frontier, fresh causes of uneasiness in the growing ambition of a tribe which, though little known previous to the middle of the eighteenth century, began, about this time, to play a prominent part in the general politics of India. Of the origin and early conquests of that tribe, the Goorkas, we are not required to give any detailed account. Enough is done when we state, that by availing themselves adroitly of the circumstances of their neighbours, they gradually extended their influence, till in the year 1763 not only the hill Rajahs, but the great valley of Nepaul, had become subject to their dominion. It is not, indeed, to be imagined that the Goorka race were, more than other Asiatic families, free from intestine feuds, or that such feuds failed to bring about among them their customary results, revolts, murders, and usurpations; nevertheless, the reigning prince, by whatever means he might have acquired his power, seems to have uniformly devoted it towards one great object,

namely the aggrandisement of his house, and the extension of his country's influence. To attain that object, all means, both of corruption and violence, were called into play. Did a quarrel arise between any two neighbouring princes,—the Goorka never failed to offer himself as a mediator, and he as regularly put an end to the dispute by rendering the litigant parties alike dependent on his own authority. Thus were the limits of the empire day by day extended, till at last they presented a frontier bordering on that of the English, to the extent of not less than eight hundred miles.

At the foot of the Nepaul mountains, there is a valuable forest of sal trees, beyond which, towards the south, lies an extensive plain, called the Turaee, particularly useful on account of the excellent pasturage which it produces during the months of April and May, when in other districts the herbage is universally dried up and withered. Between the zemindars of that plain—now subjects of the Company—and the hill Rajahs of Nepaul, a deadly enmity existed, the latter making continual aggressions upon the lands of the former, which they found it extremely difficult to repel. For some time the British government, though appealed to by their feudatories, declined to interfere for their protection. Once or twice, indeed, in cases of peculiar hardship, the Bengal authorities did send to demand redress, which was granted with every appearance of cordiality and good will; but for the most part being

themselves secured against loss by the terms of their perpetual settlement, they turned to the complaints of the zemindars and villagers a deaf ear. The consequence was, that the Goorkas, finding themselves unopposed, continued to push their conquests, till they brought themselves at last into a position incompatible alike with the honour of the British government and the security of its subjects.

In the ancient kingdom or vice-royalty of Oude, there is a border Pergunnah called Bootwal, of which the Rajah possessed, at one period, extensive domains, not only in the plain, but among the hills. Of these last the Goorkas had deprived him, previous to the arrangement of 1801; and they contrived, not long after that event which rendered him a subject of the Company's government, to entice him into one of their castles, where they put him to death. Their next procedure was to advance, by little and little, claims to the property in the plain, which the family, apprehensive of their own inability to maintain the struggle, made over, in exchange for a pension, to the Company. Even this act, however, failed to repress the movements of the ambitious Goorkas, who, in 1809, had taken possession of more than two-thirds, and were slowly, but surely, extending their authority over the remainder. Nor was this all. Of Sheevraj, Tilpoor, and Bunneekpoor, all of them districts similarly circumstanced, they had likewise made themselves masters; their

sole right being that of the strong over the weak —the right of conquest.

Alarmed by the reports which reached him, Sir George Barlow remonstrated with the Goorkas in a tone less bold, perhaps, than the circumstances of the people seemed to demand. He even consented to give up Sheevraj, on condition that they evacuated Bootwal, taking shelter in the admitted fact, that Sheevraj, though originally a portion of Oude, had received the Goorka yoke prior to the cession of his frontier provinces by the Nabob. But the Goorkas, while they offered to farm Bootwal, peremptorily refused to abandon it; and the question, owing in part to Sir George Barlow's removal, in part to the multiplicity of affairs which drew the attention of Lord Minto to other quarters, was suffered, till the year 1810-11, to lie over. As might have been expected, the Goorkas attributed to weakness a moderation which arose entirely out of inadvertence. They now pushed beyond Bootwal, into Palee; while one of their Soubahs, the governor of Rotechul, crossed the frontier line of Betia, seized and stockaded some villages, and spread marauding parties over the face of the country. Lord Minto, besides complaining of this conduct, caused a commission to assemble for the purpose of ascertaining how far the claims set up by the Goorkas were well founded. The measure led to a conviction that over Sheevraj itself they possessed no legitimate authority, and they were, in consequence, required to withdraw, without

loss of time, from all those provinces which they had usurped. This occurred in the month of June, 1813; but ere the answer of the Rajah could be received, (for to him the appeal was made,) Lord Minto resigned his office; and the Marquis of Hastings arrived to assume, in his stead, the chief direction of the affairs of British India.

"The administration of Lord Minto," says an able writer, "differs essentially from that of every governor-general who preceded him." Possessed of too much acuteness not to perceive that the system of neutral policy, if persevered in, must lead to great and increasing dangers, Lord Minto was, at the same time, so much alive to the necessity of carrying along with him the public mind in England, that he would not, of his own accord, and on his own individual responsibility, venture upon any measure directly at variance with the wishes, however misplaced, of those from whom he derived his authority. The consequence was, that on almost every occasion he exercised a degree of forbearance which, had it not been accompanied by a demonstration of power to act otherwise, might have led to the most disastrous results. When cases of pressing emergency arose, indeed, he could deviate from this cautious course, as is fully shown in his mode of dealing with the Rajah of Lahore; but that his general policy was as we have described it, we require no further proof than is afforded by his mistaken forbearance with reference to Ameer Khan. Lord Minto

had at his disposal much more than force sufficient to reduce Malwa to the condition of a province; and his doing so would have doubtless put an immediate stop to practices, manifestly and surely the causes of a contest which we shall have occasion by-and-by to describe. Nevertheless, Lord Minto, if blameable at all in this particular, might plead in his own defence many extenuating circumstances. It had been strongly impressed upon him ere he quitted home, that any extension of territory, or even of direct influence over the native powers, would be regarded, both by the Directors and the King's government, as the worst crime which he could commit; and hence, though he did not hesitate in his despatches to point out the extreme fallacy of the notion, he was naturally slow to act on his own opinions, when opposed by the deliberate judgment of his employers.

His correspondence with the Directors was not, however, without its uses. His admirable reasoning produced so great a change in public opinion, that men were prepared to witness, without alarm, the adoption of a bolder policy—a policy which, under his successor, led to results not less beneficial than glorious, and rendered a company of British merchants the supreme head of all the Asiatic tribes from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Thibet.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Hastings—Rupture with the Goorkas—Transactions with the Mahrattas—Ameer Khan—Rungeet Singh—First Campaign in the Hills unfavourable, except from the Sutlej—General Ochterlony's Successes—Treaty of Malwa—Negociations for Peace—broken off—Second Campaign—Peace with Nepaul.

On the 13th of October, 1813, the Marquis of Hastings assumed the reins of government at Calcutta. His attention was immediately turned to the state of the Company's relations with the Goorkas, from whom no answer to Lord Minto's communication had as yet been received; and the tenor of whose proceedings appeared plainly to indicate, that they were not now, for the first time, contemplating the possibility of a rupture with the English. So late as the middle of December the answer in question arrived; it was obsequious, even to servility, rich in compliments, and overspread with flattery; but with reference to the point at issue between the two governments, no document was ever more evasive. Lord Hastings saw that the moment was at hand when it would be necessary to act as well as to negociate. He instructed the authorities on the frontier to demand the evacuation of the dis-

puted districts within the space of twenty-five days; and in the event of non-compliance, to employ force in repelling the recusants. Every thing was done in due order. The stipulated period being expired, Sir Roger Martin, the magistrate at Gurruckpoor, advanced, on the 14th April, 1814, into the Turaee; and, under the protection of a few companies of infantry, established police thanas at three different stations in Bootwal. In like manner the villages on the Larun frontier were seized, the Goorkas retiring as the sepoys approached, and the whole of the districts to which the Company laid claim recovered without any loss of life. But the conduct of the mountaineers in this respect, as the lapse of a few weeks sufficed to show, proceeded not from a sense of inability to act otherwise, but from deliberation. As soon as the commencement of the rains rendered it necessary to withdraw the troops from the Turaee, a body of armed men burst into Bootwal, and attacking the thanas by surprise, slew or dispersed the police, driving back such as escaped to the Bansee. It was impossible any longer to doubt that a serious struggle impended; and Lord Hastings made ready to embark in it with all the disposable strength of the empire.

The condition of British India, with reference both to its finances and to the state of feeling which was known to prevail among many of the powers contiguous, was certainly not such as to tempt any governor into a wan-

ton incurrence of fresh difficulties. A variety of circumstances had combined to drain the treasury, almost to the last rupee, insomuch that funds adequate to the ordinary expenses of the government were with difficulty procured. The Pindarries, though they had not yet repeated their predatory visits, were well known to watch with eagerness for an opportunity of doing so; while the dispositions of most of the Mahratta tribes, of Ameer Khan, and of the Rajah of Lahore, if not positively hostile, could scarcely be accounted as the reverse. So long ago as 1812, a negociation had been opened with the Rajah of Nagpore, which came at this juncture to an unfortunate conclusion. That prince not only rejected the proffered alliance of the English, but engaged to cooperate with Dowlut Rao Scindiah in the subjugation of the Nabob of Bhopaul—a gallant chief, who had long maintained his independence against the Hindoo tribes that surrounded him, and, on former occasions, had done the British interests some service*. Now, as the accomplishment of that design would have seriously affected both the interests and the honour of the British nation, Lord Hastings resolved to defeat it, even at the risk of increasing the dissatisfaction which already prevailed at the courts of Scindiah and Ragojee Bhoonslah.

* In Mr. Hastings's administration, when he greatly facilitated General Goddard's march through the Mahratta country.

A treaty, offensive and defensive, was accordingly concluded both with the Nabob of Bhopaul and the Chief of Sagur, to whom it was formally announced, that, in the event of any aggressive operations from the Mahrattas, the protection of the British government would be extended to them.

The step thus taken was a bold one; but in every respect accordant with the dictates of sound discretion. It gave great umbrage to Scindiah, who affected to treat Bhopaul as one of his dependencies, and complained loudly, that, in dealing with its chief, the governor-general had violated the treaty of 1805. But to these complaints, which were wholly groundless, Lord Hastings paid no heed, being satisfied with a disposition which supplied a connecting link between his own military stations in Bundelcund and Berar; and compensated, in some degree, for the absence of that support for which he had looked to the Rajah of Nagpore. Nevertheless, it served not to suppress the unfriendly intentions of the league, to which even the Peishwah himself was understood to have become a party; and in support of which Runjeet Singh on the one hand, and Ameer Khan on the other, early began to move.

Satisfied with these precautions, which were rendered more effectual by certain changes of position among the troops, both at Madras and in the Deccan, Lord Hastings turned his attention to a matter not less urgent; namely, the means of recruiting his finances, and equipping

the army with which he proposed to act against Nepaul. With this view he prevailed upon the young Nabob of Oude, who had lately succeeded his father on the throne, to advance two large sums at an interest of six per cent.; part of which was somewhat inconsiderately applied by the revenue officers at Calcutta, in liquidation of a loan previously contracted on less advantageous terms. Enough, however, remained to supply those exigencies, upon which alone it was as yet possible to count; and a plan of operations, as daring as it was judicious, was immediately drawn up. Upon this, so soon as a last appeal to the Nepaul government was seen to effect nothing, the English prepared to act.

The frontier line, upon which it was proposed to operate, measured not less than six hundred miles from east to west; and consisted, in addition to the Turaee and sal forest, of a collection of mountain-ridges, intersected here and there by narrow valleys and rugged defiles. Lord Hastings determined to attack on four points at the same time. He directed Major-general Ochterlony, who commanded the troops at Soodheana, to penetrate, with a force of six thousand sepoys, through the hill-country that overlooks the Sutlej. Major-general Gillespie, with three thousand five hundred men, of whom one thousand were Europeans, received orders to push from Miruth in the Dooab, and after subduing the extensive vale of Dehra Doun to divide his

force, so as to threaten at once Gurhwal and Seringur, under the snowy range, and Nahir, a town of some importance on the west of the Jumna. Simultaneous with these movements was to be the advance of Major-General John Sullivan Wood, from Benares and Gurruck-poor, who, with four thousand men, one thousand being English, was to penetrate by Bootwal as far as Palpa. But the main attack of all was to be carried on from Patna and Moorshedabad; where Major-General Morley, with eight thousand men, nine hundred and fifty being Europeans, received instructions to force the passes between the Gunduck and Bagmuttee, and to march with all convenient rapidity and precision directly upon Katmandoor, the capital. These four grand movements were to be supported here and there by demonstrations and occasional inroads from lesser corps; of which one, comprising two thousand men, under Major Latter, made ready to open a communication with the Rajah of Sikhim; and to act with him in clearing the eastern hills of all such posts as the Goorkas might have established among them.

Ever the foremost where danger was to be encountered, or glory acquired in the field of battle, Gillespie took the lead, by crossing the frontier on the 22nd of October, 1814, and making himself master, without opposition, of Dehra, the principal town in the valley. Of it as well as of the country round, the defence had been entrusted by Umrur Singh, to a gallant

chief, named Bulbhudur Singh, whose whole force amounted to no more than six hundred men under arms. Bulbhudur found himself too weak to meet the invaders in the plain, or even to maintain with any prospect of success the position of Dehra. He therefore fell back to a steep hill called Nalapanee, about five miles distant from the town; where, having previously enlarged the works of a fortress which crowned its ridge, he determined to make a stand.

Of the additions made to what seems to have been originally little better than a redoubt, Gillespie was not informed. He believed that a detachment would suffice to drive the enemy from the place, and that time would be saved were he, in the meanwhile, to march upon Nahir; but Colonel Mowbray, to whom the command of the detached corps was intrusted, soon discovered his error. An officer was sent back to demand fresh instructions, and his report bringing up Gillespie himself with the remainder of the division, the fort was promptly invested. Even now, however, Gillespie underrated the strength of the works, as well as spirit and determination of the defenders; and the with arrangements as yet very incomplete, he ordered an assault.

The troops suffered terribly, and were repulsed. Gillespie placed himself at the head of one hundred men of the 8th dragoons, and rushed forward to renew the attack. He reached the foot of the wall, and was waving his hat to the

men who struggled to force their way through a barred casemate, when a musket shot passed through his heart, and he fell dead. Immediately the column gave way, and leaving behind many of their comrades, the troops fled in confusion to the lines.

Damped, if not intimidated by a result so littlec ontemplated, Colonel Mowbray, on whom the command devolved, fell back to Dehra, where he remained inactive till the arrival of a train of heavy artillery appeared to furnish him with the means of reducing Nalapanee. A battery of eighteen pounders, which opened on the 25th of November, effected a breach on the 27th, and the spirits of the troops were further raised that day by their success in repelling a sortie which Bulbhudur was induced to hazard. But every effort to carry the breach by assault ended in defeat. The Goorkas mounted the ruins with reckless courage; they served their guns with extraordinary precision, and drove back the storming party amid great slaughter, particularly in the European officers. Colonel Mowbray would have renewed the contest, but he found that his sepoys were affected by a superstitious conviction that the place was impregnable. He, therefore, tried upon it the fury of bombardment; and the garrison, reduced from six hundred to seventy persons, was at length compelled to evacuate, under cover of night, the scene of their triumphs. That fort, insignificant both in extent, and as a place of arms, cost the English a loss greater in

numerical amount than the sum total of its brave defenders.

The retreat of Bulbhudur, though conducted with admirable skill, was not long concealed from Colonel Mowbray, who despatched a party in pursuit, under the command of Major Ludlow. The Major came up with the fugitives soon after they had formed a junction with three hundred men; a force which for some days hovered about the English lines, with the apparent design of making good an entrance into the fort. But little benefit resulted from the operation. The Goorkas, attacked in their bivouac, dispersed, and fled without offering any steady resistance, nor was the loss on either side such as to produce any moral impression even upon the minds of those engaged.

Having levelled with the earth what yet remained of the works at Nalapanee, Colonel Mowbray, instead of acting by detachments against Gurhwal and Nahir, left a strong corps of observation at Kalne in the northwestward extremity of the Doun; and with the remainder of his division, falling back through the Keree, passed into the open country. It was his intention to remain there till joined by Major-General Martindell, to whom, after the fall of Gillespie, the command had been transferred, but the intelligence which his spies had sent in, and the success which crowned the operations of his detached corps, induced him to adopt a bolder course. On the 5th of December he once more took the field, and follow-

ing the route of the plains, he entered the valley below Nahir, by the pass of Kolapanee, and encamped on the 19th at Mogarnud.

Mowbray was now within seven miles of Nahir, of which Rungoor Singh, the son of Umrur Singh, was understood, with three thousand men, to be in possession, and he made his arrangements to attack the place with as little delay as possible. But the Goorka gave him no opportunity of putting to the test either the valour of his troops, or the skill of his own combinations. He withdrew from his position on a rugged eminence of not less than two thousand feet in altitude; and taking post around Jythuck, a mountain-fortress, which towered about three thousand six hundred feet above the level of the plain, made there arrangements as if with the design of hazarding a general and decisive action.

On the 20th of December, General Martindell arrived in camp, and immediately caused Nahir to be occupied by a sufficient garrison. He then marched upon Jythuck, and having hastily reconnoitred the position, resolved to turn it by both flanks, keeping the centre amused by a demonstration of an immediate attack in front. The plan was not injudicious, and to a certainty it was well executed; for the storming parties reached their ground in good time, and each effected a lodgment; but the grenadiers who headed the southern column, mistaking for the effects of fear a retrogression which was prompted entirely by prudence,

rushed on with an undue precipitation to the assault of a stockade. They were bravely met, and being at the same time overlapped by a fire of musketry from the rocks and precipices on either side of the path, they lost their consistency and retreated in confusion. It was soon discovered that the sepoys, who ought to have supported the charge, were not yet in a condition to move. The officer in command had either been remiss in forming them, or fatigue had prevented their attending to his wishes; for when the grenadiers came pouring back upon a ruined temple within which they had halted, everything was there in a state of complete disorder. The consequences may be imagined. Flushed with their success, the Goorkas pressed on, driving the British troops before them; indeed, so rapid was the flight, that by ten o'clock in the day all that survived of the defeated column had regained the camp.

Meanwhile the northern corps, commanded by Major Richards, after accomplishing a detour of sixteen miles, drove in the enemy's outposts, and established itself on a ridge within eight hundred yards of the fort. Here Major Richards halted, partly for the purpose of ascertaining the fate of the southern attack, partly to refresh his men, worn down by a night march and the toils of a smart skirmish. When hour after hour passed, however, and no intelligence arrived, both the men and their leader began to grow uneasy; a feeling, which a bold

advance on the part of the mountaineers, and their subsequent scattered fire from among the clefts and hollows around, did not tend to alleviate. The enemy were, indeed, repulsed as often as they attempted a charge, while their tirailleurs were successfully opposed by the light troops thrown out to meet them. But a mode of fighting so desultory served but to expend Major Richards's ammunition, and to his repeated applications for a supply no attention was paid. At last an order reached him that he should retire, to which, however mortifying in itself, he was in no condition to refuse obedience: he moved off after dark, and though fiercely assailed in the rear, and exposed to the utmost peril, reached the lines with a loss of nearly four hundred men and officers, in killed, wounded, and missing. General Martindell instantly retreated to Nahir, where for some time he remained inactive.

Widely different in all respects were the proceedings of General Ochterlony, of whose advance from the Sutlej, and his projected campaign in the north-western hills, we have already taken notice. Aware of the kind of enemy with whom he would have to deal, Ochterlony determined to leave nothing to chance; and to risk a battle only when the advantages both of position and numbers were at least not against him. He began by laying siege to the fortress of Nalagurh, which commanded the main pass in that direction; and on the 5th of December made himself

master both of it and of certain stockades which depended on it. He was closely watched, while thus employed, by Umrur Singh, the veteran and gallant commander-in-chief of the Goorka forces, who occupied with his army a steep mountain-range, admirably calculated to afford a safe position to troops acting on the defensive. Ochterlony saw, and estimated as it deserved, the strength of that position. He manœuvred to turn it, and having gained a ridge, apparently within gun-shot of one of the enemy's stockades, began to fire with great vivacity from his six-pounders. But there is no situation in which the sense of sight is more apt to mislead than amid ravines and precipices; and Ochterlony very soon discovered that, in trusting to a rapid survey of the ground, he had deceived himself. His shot fell short. He pushed on a party with orders to seize another eminence considerably nearer the stockade, and enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding it occupied; but his joy was of brief endurance. The enemy rushed upon the detached corps in overwhelming numbers, drove the men from the hill, and put both them and a few companies, which hastened to support them, to the route. Still Ochterlony was not cast down. He had placed his troops in such a situation that it rested with himself to choose, in a great degree, both the time and place for a general action. He determined to bring it on without delay, and was prevented from doing so only by the receipt of a despatch which communicated to

him the deplorable intelligence of Gillespie's failure and death. Ochterlony immediately relinquished his plan of attack; and withdrawing his people into ground where he believed that they would be safe, resolved to await the arrival of certain reinforcements, of the approach of which he had been assured.

The expected supplies came up on the 27th, and the campaign was immediately re-opened in the same cautious yet effective spirit which characterized it at the beginning. Ochterlony persisted in making it a war of manœuvre; for, with repeated demonstrations, he carefully abstained from risking a general action, and compelled the enemy to evacuate one strong position after another, by cutting off their supplies, and threatening their communications. While executing these masterly evolutions, he came, it is true, not unfrequently under their fire; indeed there were very few days some portion of which was not marked by the occurrence of one or more skirmishes; nevertheless, even on such occasions his arrangements were made with so much decision and skill, that while the Goorkas were almost invariably the assailants, victory rested with the sepoys. The best moral effect was produced by conduct so judicious. Not only were the spirits of his own troops raised, but certain chiefs, among whom was the Rajah of Belaspoor, were induced to abandon the cause of the Goorkas, and to treat the invaders as allies. Still let justice be done to Umrur Singh and his brave followers. These never amounted

to three thousand combatants,—they were opposed to full seven thousand disciplined troops with a powerful train of artillery; and though they failed to keep possession of the hilly tract from Plassea to Belaspoor, they fought for every inch of ground and disputed every position with singular hardihood and perseverance.

While these things were in progress on two out of the four principal lines of operation, General Wood from Gurruckpoor, and General Morley from Patna, were each performing, with the degree of talent and enterprise which belonged to him, his part on the great stage of warfare. The former took the field on the 15th of November, but delayed so long in collecting means of transport for his baggage and supplies, that December was drawing to a close ere he entered the Turaee. His next cause of hinderance arose from the difficulty of obtaining intelligence as to the shortest and least-exposed route to Palpa; and when that point had been satisfactorily settled, he found still further cause of distrust, in the absence of guides in whom he could repose confidence. All these obstacles were, however, overcome; and the general at length moved, with a portion of his force, first along the plain, and then through the sal forest, for the purpose of surprising a stockaded camp which the enemy were reported to have formed at the mouth of the Bootwal pass. It were too much to say

that General Wood marched unguardedly, for his guides led him to expect no opposition, till he should have reached an open space which they described as intervening between the forest and the defile; but it is certain that his advanced guard, which he accompanied in person, came upon the stockade before they were aware, and received a volley which did great execution. Some little confusion was the inevitable consequence; but Colonel Hardyman, of his Majesty's seventeenth regiment, promptly restored order, and forcing back the flank patrols that covered the Goorkas' position, turned them on both flanks. Unfortunately, the general either did not observe, or considered it useless to make account of this great advantage. When the troops, secure of victory, expected the signal to charge, he caused the retreat to be sounded; and the Goorkas, whose situation was perilous in the extreme, found themselves most unexpectedly masters of the field of battle. But this was neither the only nor the greatest proof of a total incapacity to command which General Wood exhibited. He retreated with the utmost precipitation, and believing, or professing to believe, that the force under his orders was altogether inadequate to offensive operations, he wasted the remainder of the season in moving backwards and forwards, as if it had been necessary to guard his own position against a very superior enemy.

The impression produced by this failure, strengthened as it was by the repulse of Gilles-

pie's corps, proved eminently hurtful to the spirit of the troops elsewhere, nor was its force diminished by the result of General Morley's campaign in the country beyond Sumroun. For a brief space, indeed, fortune appeared to smile upon the British arms in that quarter; for Major Bradshaw, who acted previous to General Morley's arrival, in the two-fold capacity of political agent and military commandant, surprised a Goorka post at Burhurwa, and took possession of the whole of the Turaee. But neither by him nor by his successor was the slightest judgment displayed in making arrangements for the preservation of conquests acquired with some address and considerable gallantry. Major Bradshaw had stationed three detachments, each about five hundred strong, at different posts removed by not less than twenty miles, not only from one another, but from all support. General Morley, who arrived with the main army on the 12th of December, made no change in these dispositions; but consumed the remainder of the month in adjusting plans which he was never destined to carry into execution. These were rash steps to take in the presence of an enemy so vigilant and active as the Goorkas, and they occasioned ere long the very results which might have been anticipated. An hour before dawn, on the morning of the 1st of January, two of the three posts were surprised and totally destroyed. From one scarce a fugitive escaped to tell the tale of his comrades' slaughter, and of the other

a small remnant alone cut their way through the crowd, which hemmed them in on all sides.

There needed only some such disaster as this to deprive General Morley of all self-command. He at once adopted the mistaken opinion, that his army could not make head against the Goorkas; and aware, at the same time, that to his movements more than to those of any other officer the governor-general looked for a successful termination to the war, he became restless, uneasy, and desponding. A man of peculiarly delicate nerves, he found himself alike incapable of making an effort in advance, and of bearing up against the misery of self-condemnation. He suddenly quitted the camp, and without leaving any instructions behind, made the best of his way to Calcutta. Yet the army gained little by an event, which served no other purpose than to transfer the command from one over-cautious individual to another. Neither Colonel Dick nor Major-General George Wood, whom Lord Hastings appointed to succeed General Morley, considered it prudent to thread the forest; so that thirteen thousand excellent troops, for to so large a number had the reinforcements swelled the army, were kept at bay during several weeks, not by the enemy, but by the misplaced apprehensions of their leaders.

A termination so unexpected to a campaign on which the English were known to have entered with plans well digested and a large portion of their military strength, occasioned,

as was natural, a very strong sensation among all the independent, and many of the tributary, states of India. Not a few of them began to consider that it might be well to take advantage of the opportunity which fortune had thrown in their way. There were movements in Lahore, and on the part of Ameer Khan, which implied the readiness of both to act as occasion should require, while the tone assumed at Scindiah's durbar, and even at Poonah, became less conciliatory than it was wont to be. Neither these events, however, nor the despondency with which some of his functionaries were affected, induced the Marquis of Hastings to waver in the line which he had determined to follow. He saw in the reverses which the British troops had sustained only the natural effects of over-confidence, rendered excessive by a long career of victory over armies less disciplined than themselves, and wanting in the individual hardihood and courage which seem inherent in the natives of all mountainous regions. Besides, it was manifest to his practised eye that the Goorkas were not less astonished at their own good fortune than their opponents. They made no effort to improve their successes; they shrank from the responsibility of aggressive war, and were content to repulse such attacks as might be made upon them, without ever seeking to follow up a blow even when struck effectively. While, therefore, he looked to the issue with perfect confidence, he was too much alive

to the necessity of precipitating that issue, not to call upon every department of the state for fresh exertions.

One of the first steps taken by Lord Hastings, after his assumption of the reins of government, was to make a personal tour of inspection through the western provinces. While prosecuting his journey in Rohilcund he had ascertained that the district of Kumaon, which skirts its northern frontier, was almost entirely destitute of troops, the whole Goorka force having been drawn away to oppose the British divisions operating to the east and west. It occurred to him that a diversion in this quarter might serve many excellent purposes, both by the uneasiness which it would cause to the enemy by the multiplication of points of attack, and in stopping the march of any reinforcements westward, for the purpose of strengthening the army at Jythuck. The equivocal situation of affairs in other quarters, however, as well as the demands made by the divisions employed in the hills, rendered it impossible to devote to this service any body of regular troops. But Lord Hastings was not a man to relinquish an advisable project because there were difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. He determined to employ irregulars in this service, and the warlike inhabitants of Rohilcund appearing to offer the best materials for his purpose, he directed two active partizans, Lieutenant-colonel Gar-

diner and Captain Hearsay, to turn them to account.

The gentlemen in question, of whom both had served in the Mahratta armies, and come over on the commencement of hostilities in 1802-3, applied themselves with diligence and success to fulfil the wishes of the governor-general. They soon completed their respective corps, and in the month of February began to penetrate, the former by Diklee and Kotha into Kumaon, the latter by the Kalee, or western Gogra, to Chumpawut. No man could more ably discharge his duty than Colonel Gardiner. Advancing from post to post with equal dexterity and caution, he never left himself exposed to be taken at a disadvantage; and by availing himself of the inequalities of ground, continued to force back the Goorkas, almost without a blow, as far as Kutarmul. Nor was this all. In the few skirmishes which marked the progress of the campaign, he contrived always so to dispose his irregulars that their peculiar mode of fighting came into play; and the consequence was that they proved, in every instance, more than a match for the troops by whom they were assailed. It would have been well for Captain Hearsay had he exercised a similar caution. After making himself master of Chumpawut, where the inhabitants appeared to be friendly disposed, he unfortunately spread his troops over too wide a field, and having entangled a portion of them in the blockade of

Kootulgurh, a strong fort on the road to Ahnora, was compelled to give battle with the remainder to a superior force, sent down to relieve the place. It ended in the total defeat of the Rohillas, Hearsay himself having been wounded at the first fire and taken prisoner.

This victory was won by a brave chief named Hustu-Dul, who immediately conducted his prisoner to Ahnora, now threatened not only by Colonel Gardiner's Patans, but by a force of two thousand regular infantry, with artillery, under the orders of Colonel Joshua Nichols. The latter, whom a prospect of continued tranquillity in Central India enabled Lord Hastings to detach on this important service, reached Kutarmul in the middle of April. His arrival was very opportune, for the rumour of Hearsay's defeat had produced a strong moral effect, against which, when added to the growing strength of the enemy, Gardiner could scarcely hope to make head. Now, however, the superiority, in point both of numbers and discipline, was with the English; and, under their new leader, they failed not to make good use of it. On the 23d, Hustu-Dul was observed to march for Ahnora, at the head of a detachment. The second battalion of the fifth native infantry was ordered immediately to intercept him, and in the conflict which ensued, the chief himself was slain, and his followers routed. Immediately the British army closed in upon the town; all the outworks were carried, a sortie was repulsed with loss, and the garrison reduced to a state of

helplessness, such as precluded all chance of successful resistance. On the 26th, an armistice was granted, and on the day following Ahnora opened its gates; the whole province being surrendered to the English, and Major Hearsay restored, without ransom, to his friends.

It is worthy of remark, that on this, and on every other occasion, the Goorkas fulfilled with scrupulous fidelity the terms of the convention into which they had entered; indeed their bearing throughout was that of a determined, but, at the same time, a fair and honourable enemy.

In the meantime Generals Martindell and Ochterlony were performing their respective parts in the drama with the different degrees of vigour and ability which nature had bestowed upon them. The first, impelled by repeated orders from Calcutta, began, in the month of February, to act on the offensive, if, indeed, it be possible to speak of any man as acting offensively whose plans vary from day to day, and who, as a necessary consequence, accomplishes nothing. At one time he resolved to carry the position of Jythuck, by battering stockade after stockade; for which purpose the eighteen-pounders were, with indescribable labour, dragged to the summit of a steep hill. But the work against which the fire had been directed was no sooner demolished than he discovered that it could not be retained except at the hazard of a general

action. Now, as the enemy's force could not exceed three thousand men, and he had under his own command one thousand Europeans, with five thousand excellent sepoy troops, there may seem to the ordinary reader to have been in this prospect nothing to excite alarm. General Martindell, however, thought otherwise, and the guns were withdrawn. His next device was to intercept the supplies and reinforcements which came in continually to the enemy's camp. He employed in this service about two thousand irregulars, who, being somewhat injudiciously disposed, were totally routed by two hundred Goorkas. Finally, he set himself to the task of imitating the operations on the Sutlej, by closing in upon the posts around Jythuck, and impeding their communications with the rear. But ere the effects of this system could be ascertained, events befell elsewhere which rendered Jythuck untenable, and robbed him of the glory on which he had begun to calculate.

We left General Ochterlony in the full career of triumph among the hills north of the Sutlej, where one by one the castles and fortified posts of the Goorkas submitted to him. The enemy, out-manœuvred at all points, fell back upon a formidable position, which embraced a series of connected peaks, all of them more or less abrupt, and, except two, carefully stockaded, between the stone redoubts at Maloun and Souringhur. There, on the 14th of April, Ochterlony made arrangements for a

battle. He caused the neglected ridges to be seized during the night, and drew off the enemy's attention by well-devised feints upon remote points in their line. He then threw upon the more important of the two a couple of battalions with their field-pieces, in the confident expectation that Rimru Singh would endeavour to recover it, and that on the issue of that struggle the fate of the Goorka army would depend. He had not deceived himself in this particular. At dawn on the 16th, two thousand men, headed by one of the bravest of the Goorka chiefs, assaulted the hill on every side, and for two hours a contest was maintained, more desperate perhaps, certainly more close, than it had lately fallen to the lot of an Indian army to witness. But neither the heroism of Bugtee Thapa, the warrior who led the charge, nor the devoted gallantry of his men, availed. The former was killed by a musket-shot, and the latter, leaving five hundred dead within the compass of a few yards from the British line, fled in confusion.

This victory not only put a stop to all further opposition in the province allotted to Ochterlony himself, but procured for General Martindell an escape from the difficulties with which he had proved himself incompetent to struggle. Rimru Singh strove indeed to rouse the drooping courage of the chiefs, by representing that the rainy season was at hand, and that the English would be compelled, by the absence of adequate shelter, to withdraw into their own

country; but neither his arguments nor intreaties availed. One by one they deserted his standard, and the veteran himself, after a fruitless effort to maintain Maloun with two hundred men, was reduced to the painful necessity of accepting a convention. It was stipulated that Umur Singh, with his followers, should retain their personal freedom; that Maloun should be surrendered, and that the Goorkas, evacuating all the country west of the Kalee, should be permitted to depart in peace, with their arms and ammunition. Runjoor Singh was of course included in this treaty. He did not hesitate to obey his father's wish; but, abandoning Jythuck, left the English in undisputed possession of the country, from the Kalpee to the Sutlej.

It formed no part of Lord Hastings's plan to encumber the Anglo-Indian empire with a number of sterile provinces—all of them inadequate to defray the expenses of their administration, when conducted according to the practices introduced in 1793. Of Kumaon and Doun, indeed, he made up his mind to retain possession; but the districts of Gurhwal, Sermoor, Joobul, and other mountain principalities, he resigned into the hands of their native princes, Sir David Ochterlony being nominated to exercise a general superintendence over their affairs. Not that any right of interference with the customs of these petty states, or with the measures pursued by their chiefs to preserve internal order, either was, or was meant

to be, claimed. The sole business of the administrator was to act towards the Rajahs as the head, if we may so express ourselves, of a federation of sovereigns; in other words, to afford a point of reference to which any of them might apply if wronged, or believing himself to be wronged by his neighbours. But Sir David, however well qualified to perform the duties of his new office, was not left long in a situation to attend to them. The war with Nepaul was far from closing with the victory of Maloun, and the general's services in the field were a great deal too valuable to permit his being left at leisure to exercise his talents for diplomacy.

There is good reason to believe that the Goorkas, when they engaged in the quarrel with their neighbours, did not anticipate exertions so gigantic as those which they witnessed in the first campaign. It is quite certain that even at the moment of their most splendid success they desired peace; indeed an intercepted correspondence between the Rajah and Umur Singh furnished ample proof that the former was prepared to make many and great sacrifices in order to attain that end. Umur Singh, however, who had commanded the armies of his country under four sovereigns, and over whose chivalrous spirit neither old age nor infirmities cast a shade, would not give his sanction to what he regarded as a disgraceful proposition. He reminded the Rajah of Tippoo's fate; pointed out to him that as every concession which he might now make would be attributed

to weakness, so it would pave the way to still greater demands; and having justly characterized the mode in which hostilities began, assured him that there remained no alternative between success and utter ruin. The Rajah, convinced by his reasoning, permitted the struggle to go on. But the defeat at Maloun no sooner became known than his desire for peace returned; and as there chanced to be a strong party at court who had from the first stood opposed to the war, an agent was immediately sent to treat about a cessation of hostilities. The Gooroo, Gujraj Mesur, for so the ambassador was called, obtained ready access to Major Bradshaw, who laid before him, without reserve, the basis on which alone the British government would negotiate,—namely, 1. The perpetual cession of all the hill-country taken in the campaign: 2. A similar cession of the Turaee from one extremity to another. 3. The total evacuation by the Goorkas of the territory of the Sekhim Rajah,—and 4. The reception at Katmandoo of an English resident. These were terms too severe even for the peace party to accept, so the Gooroo departed, and preparations for a second campaign proceeded on both sides.

Lord Hastings, though not less desirous of peace than the enemy, determined, in the event of a continuance of the war, to push matters to an extremity. With this view he directed Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, who succeeded Colonel Nicolls, to push forward with the Kumaon

division, while Colonel Nicolls himself should, with what had been General J. S. Wood's army, penetrate through the Bootwal to Palpa. At the same time General Ochterlony was called from the western provinces to guide the movements of the Suran troops, with which he received orders to force the passes that covered the valley of Nepaul itself. But while these changes of disposition were yet in progress, the Goorkas again renewed their solicitations, accepting some of the terms, faintly objecting to others, and obtaining a ready modification of the remainder. So confident, indeed, were the British authorities that hostilities would not recommence, that of the stores actually collected some were sold; and even the coolies and bearers who had been hired to convey the baggage received, with a blameable precipitation, their discharge. It is not worth while to describe at length the measures adopted by the Goorka agents to nourish this belief. Enough is done when we state, that the brave Umur no sooner returned to Katmandoo than he gave a totally new direction to public feeling. The treaty which had been signed by the Gooroo, and transmitted to the capital for ratification, was cast aside, and the sword became again the arbiter between the contending parties.

Early in the month of February, 1816, General Ochterlony took the field at the head of twenty thousand effective men, including three King's regiments. He advanced by those routes through the forest which had so long baffled

the enterprise of his predecessor, and found himself, on the 10th, in presence of the first of a series of fortifications by which the Goorkas had barred up the Chooree Ghatee, or main inlet through the hills into Nepaul. A careful reconnoissance served to convince him that the stockades could not be carried by assault; so he directed his attention to the discovery of some route by which they might be turned. After four days of incessant exertion, Captain Pickersgill, of the Quarter-Master General's department, was so fortunate as to observe a deep and narrow ravine, which led first to a water course and ultimately to a steep ascent, by crossing which the enemy's work might be rendered untenable. He communicated his discovery to the general, and that very evening, immediately after dark, a column, of which Sir David was himself at the head, passed through the ravine, threaded the water-course, and established itself on the summit of the eminence. Seldom have been endured heavier privations than fell to the lot of that gallant corps, but the manœuvre was decisive. The enemy abandoned their entrenchments, attacked with their whole force a post which the English had established at Mukwanpoor, and sustained, after some hours of hard fighting, a complete defeat.

While the main army was thus employed, a brigade under Colonel Kelly, which followed a different route, arrived on the 29th at Joorjoor, a village distant about a league from a stockade which the Goorkas had erected in the

neighbourhood of Hureehurpoor. Colonel Kelly made his dispositions to attack them, and had moved for this purpose a portion of his force to an eminence within a hundred yards of their lines, when they quitted their entrenchments and fell upon the detachment with great fury. Lieut.-Colonel O'Halloran, who commanded here, gallantly maintained his ground till reinforced, when the English became in their turn the assailants. Nothing could withstand their charge; Runjoor Singh himself, the hero of Jythuck, fled with a chosen cohort which he had denominated "the Band of the Moon;" and the works, which were formidable, fell into Kelly's hands almost without resistance. But there was no time granted to follow up the victory. The court of Katmandoo, dismayed by the rout at Mukwanpoor, hastened to ratify the treaty which it had so recently rejected; and Kelly was arrested in a forward movement, by instructions from the General that the war was at an end.

At the commencement of his disagreement with the English government, the Rajah, swayed by the councils of Umur Singh, sent to solicit assistance from the Chinese. It was not the first time that the Chinese and Goorkas had come into contact, for in 1789 the latter, having invaded Tibet, drew upon themselves the hostility of the Celestial Empire. A war ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Goorkas, and their nominal submission to their more powerful neighbours, a circumstance on which the Rajah now founded his preten-

sions to receive support and protection. Not under any circumstances disposed to act with precipitation, the Chinese, though they assembled an army, delayed so long in commencing their march, that the treaty of peace had been signed, and the terms partially carried into effect ere the approach of the allies was known to the people of Katmandoo. It was now too late to bring them into collision with the English, had the feelings of the Chinese inclined to such a point, but the case was quite otherwise. Having received from the Governor-general a statement of the causes of the quarrel, as well as a declaration of his own designs in prosecuting the war, the Chinese authorities at once turned their indignation against the Goorkas, whom they upbraided with their treachery, derided for their weakness, and then left to make what terms they could with a power which they had wantonly provoked. These, as might have been expected, were in no respect more favourable than had been offered and declined at the close of the first campaign; indeed there were added to them various conditions which bore perhaps more directly upon the pride than upon the real interests of the defeated party.

With the pacification, as concluded by General Ochterlony, Lord Hastings expressed himself well pleased. It ensured the independence of the western chieftains, it freed the Sekhim Rajah from all risk of future encroachments; it stripped the Goorkas of the whole of

the level country, and confined them within the limits of Nepaul proper. But that which gave to it its chief value in the eyes of the Governor-general, was the leisure which it afforded him of watching the progress of events in other quarters, where a storm, which had long lowered, appeared on the eve of bursting with a violence which might have proved seriously inconvenient had it fallen a few months earlier.

CHAPTER VI.

Company's Charter renewed—Lord Hastings's proceedings with the Mahratta Powers—Their intrigues—Bhopal and Ameer Khan—Revolution in Nagpoor—Appa Sahib—Movements at Hyderabad—The Peishwah—Trimbukjee Dainglia—Gungadur Shastree murdered—Trimbukjee given up to the English—Imprisoned in a Fortress at Salsette—Escapes—Collects Troops—Duplicity of the Peishwah—Is overawed—Treaty of Poonah.

Before entering upon a detail of those important events which arose out of the dispositions made by Lord Hastings for the preservation of peace in Central India, it may be necessary to advert to the proceedings of parliament, in reference to the Company's Charter, of which, in 1813, a renewal was solicited. A few words will suffice to give of these proceedings such an outline as appears desirable in a work like this. After a careful inquiry into the working of the system, and the examination of a host of witnesses before a select committee, the House of Commons came to the conclusion, that the Company should be permitted to enjoy their privileges for the space of twenty years longer; subject only to the opening of the trade to

India, of which, equally with the Chinese trade, they had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly. No changes were, however, introduced into the constitution of the courts at home, nor any attempt made to interfere with the machinery of the government abroad. But as the evidence adduced tended greatly to shake the confidence which had hitherto been reposed in the working of the revenue and judicial regulations, a commission was formed with full powers of inquiry, and sent out in the year following to Madras. We have already explained both the object of that commission, and the degree of success which attended its labours. It is needless therefore to say more, than that the great principle has been established, that the natives are neither unworthy to be entrusted with power, nor incapable of exercising it; and that a step has been taken, a limited step certainly, in the progress of a reform which will, doubtless, lead in due time to the re-establishment of strictly domestic governments in most of the provinces of India.

We return now to the proceedings of the Governor-general, who, towards the end of 1814, saw good reason to apprehend that the precautionary measures which he had adopted would not release him from the necessity of an appeal to arms for a settlement of his disputes with the Mahrattas. Scindiah not only complained of the protection afforded to Bhopal, but assured the resident, in no measured terms, that he should prosecute his enterprise

in spite of the opposition of the English. The tone assumed by the Nagpoor Rajah was, indeed, more mild; for he agreed to suspend his preparations and offered a portion of his troops to be taken into the pay of the British Government. But it was well known that he continued all the while his intrigues elsewhere, and that he, not less than the Peishwah, and the courts of Holkar and Runjeet Singh, was ready to strike so soon as the course of the Nepaul war might seem to present a favourable opening. In a word, "Mahrattas, Patans and Pindarries, seemed for the moment to have forgotten their mutual jealousies, under the notion that the moment was near at hand which would give the opportunity of a successful rise against our galling superiority."

Such was the state of public feeling, when those reverses occurred among the roots of the Himalaya mountains, of which an account was given in the last chapter. The Governor-general no longer doubted that a crisis was at hand. He had already placed in a position to act, considerable bodies of troops both in the Deccan and on the side of Guzerat; he determined now to call into play the whole of the resources of the empire. With this view, Sir Thomas Hislop, the commander-in-chief of the Madras army, was directed to concentrate thirteen thousand men, at a point whence the more advanced corps might at any moment be supported, namely, the Nizam's subsidiary force which had established itself at Ellichpoor, and

that of Poonah, which had taken post in the neighbourhood of Jaulna. At the same time further reinforcements were ordered from Bombay; by means of which it was in the power of the English to commence, at any moment, offensive operations at two points in the Deccan: yet was Lord Hastings's mind far from easy, so long as Hindustan, rendered naked of troops by the employment of forty-five thousand men among the hills, lay exposed to hostile incursions. He resolved to increase the army of Bengal, a measure attended, doubtless, with expense, but of the necessity of which no one who looked abroad upon the general condition of India could entertain a doubt. Several new regiments were embodied in the western provinces, where they had hitherto acted as police, the regular troops were called in, and their places supplied by levies raised on the spur of the occasion; while various corps of irregular horse were taken into pay, and seven provisional battalions formed out of the grenadier companies of those which could not be spared from garrison duty. With these, and looking daily for the arrival of two English regiments, the one from Java, the other from the Cape, Lord Hastings felt himself sufficiently strong to set the efforts of the enemy at defiance; and he accordingly sat still watching the progress of events, and prepared to act with vigour on the first symptom of hostility.

A display of strength so much more formidable than the confederates had expected to

witness, put a stop, for a time, to projects as yet immature, and perhaps undefined. Scindiah lowered his tone, and withdrew his army; the Bhoonslah Rajah arrested the progress of his in obedience to a requisition from Calcutta, while the remaining chiefs, Ameer Khan and Runjeet Singh, who had not as yet come very prominently forward, suspended their preparations and remained quiet. This was followed by a negotiation, to which the Mahratta powers were invited by the Governor-general, and of which it was the design to afford them an opportunity of showing upon what grounds they rested their claim to treat Bhopal as a dependency. But the most curious result accruing from it was, the anxiety which the Rajah of Bhopal exhibited to deliver himself, as soon as the cloud passed away, from the restraints of a British alliance. That ambitious and high-minded prince, however willing he might be to receive protection, was not disposed to abate one jot of his privileges as an independent sovereign; and hence, so soon as he had ascertained that the troops of Scindiah were fallen back, he began to contract with their leader, Colonel Baptiste, a treaty of alliance and mutual amity. Lord Hastings, as was natural, regarded the proceeding as an insult to the British government. He refused to the Rajah's vakeel the opportunity of replying to the claims set up by those of Scindiah and the Bhoonslah, and considered that the nature of his dealings with Bhopal might henceforth be

regulated by a reference to self-interest alone. Nevertheless, he steadily resisted, for his own sake, the claims of the Mahratta powers; and they, conscious of their inability to force a compliance, ceased to urge them.

The close of the season, besides witnessing a happy termination to the Nepaul war, beheld a relaxed state of preparation throughout Central India; the native powers became quiescent, and Lord Hastings, willing to economise while the opportunity was given, caused the Madras army to break up, and the force collected in Guzerat to return to its cantonments.

Highly favourable as these things were to the hopes of such as desired a continuance of peace, there befell soon afterwards, at the courts both of the Nizam and the Peishwah, events sufficiently illustrative of the real feelings of these powers. The Nizam's sons, young men of depraved tastes and dissolute habits, maintained about their persons a band of ruffians, who were accustomed to perpetrate, at the bidding of their employers, crimes of the most revolting nature. Among other acts which they perpetrated this summer, was the seizure of an attendant of the British resident; whom they cast into a dungeon and put to the torture, for the purpose of extorting money from him. Mr. H. Russell, the resident, complained to the Nizam, and received assurances that the young men would be punished; indeed, a portion of the regular infantry, under Captain Stone, were sent to arrest the culprits,

and place them under actual restraint. The princes, not less irritable than desperate, stood on their own defence, and filling the houses near the palace with armed Patans, fired upon Captain Stone's party, and occasioned some loss. A serious tumult arose. Captain Stone, after penetrating to the palace-gates, returned to the house of Rajah Cheor Lal for further orders. The resident called in, from their cantonments at Scamderabad, the British contingent, ordered up reinforcements from the south, and sent advices to Colonel Doveton that he should push from Ellichpoor upon Hyderabad. But the young princes having laid down their arms were sent off as prisoners to Golconda, and peace being for the moment restored, Colonel Doveton's march was suspended. Mr. Russell saw enough, however, to assure him that the dispositions of the inhabitants of Hyderabad were by no means friendly; he, therefore, retained the troops which had arrived from the south, so as to render his escort more available, in case any similar call for their services should occur.

In the meanwhile, the situation of Mr. Elphinstone, the resident at the court of the Peishwah, was still more perplexing, as well with reference to his own personal security, as in regard to the existing relations between the governments of Calcutta and Poonah. For some time previously the Peishwah had given his entire confidence to one Trimbukjee Dainglia, a man of obscure birth, of depraved morals,

the minister of his more impure pleasures, and originally a spy by profession. Trimbukjee, with others of his class, entertained a deep-rooted hatred towards all Europeans; and early began to prepare the mind of his master for a rupture with the English. After committing various crimes, he rose at last to the situation of prime minister; and being an able, though an unprincipled man, he directed the public councils with a degree of vigour which had not recently characterised them. It was a favourite project with Trimbukjee to restore the Mahratta empire; and he readily persuaded Bajee Rao, the Peishwah, to attempt by address what his ancestors had accomplished sword in hand. The jaghiredars were, one after another, on various pretexts, stripped of their possessions, and their revenues paid into the treasury. Treaties of confederacy were contracted with Scindiah, the Bhoonslah, and Holkar; and even among the Pindarries an agent was stationed, by whom an influence over many of their chiefs became established. This done, the Peishwah began to revive his claims, both upon the Nizam and the Guickwar, of whom both stood, it will be borne in mind, in the same relation of a subsidiary alliance towards the British government. As in duty bound, Lord Hastings interposed with his good offices; and it was arranged, that the points at issue between the different powers should be settled by compromise, their agents meeting at Poonah, under the guarantee of personal safety afforded by Mr. Elphinstone, the resident.

It suited not the policy of Bajee Rao, or his favourite, to press their demands upon the Nizam, their plans being as yet unripe for an open rupture. That question was therefore permitted to stand over; but early in 1814, Gungadhur Shastree, the prime minister of the Guickwar state, arrived at Poonah, and the claims of his master and the Peishwah were brought, as it were, to trial. Our limits will not permit us to give any account of a proceeding which bore but little, except in its results, upon the fortunes of British India. Let it suffice to state, that the case of the Peishwah appeared, on examination, to be stronger than was anticipated; that the English were obliged, by a sense of justice, to consent to more than one arrangement, of the evil effects of which, in a political point of view, it was impossible to doubt; that Trimbukjee made use of these advantages to protract the negotiation, and to keep the Shastree at a distance from the court of his own sovereign, where other, and not less important, intrigues were in progress. For the views of this bold man extended much farther than the recovery of a single town, or the realization of a few lacs of rupees. He sought to establish, by means of a minister, advanced to place through his instrumentality, a powerful interest in the Peishwah's favour at the Guickwar durbar; and he pushed his devices with so much dexterity and perseverance, that they began, ere long, to give promise of an issue every way

satisfactory. A new vakeel came from the Guickwar (Ameer Rao) with assurances of increasing good will, and both he and the Shastree were immediately treated with marked respect at Poonah.

Mr. Elphinstone, from whom these intrigues were not kept secret, protested against them, and was met by a declaration, on the part of Trimbukjee, that the Guickwar was the Peishwah's vassal, and that he was justified in effecting the removal from that vassal's confidence of a servant who, by his negligence or inability, had permitted his master's interests to suffer. The resident opposed to such reasoning the terms of the treaty of Bassein, which positively excluded the Peishwah from all right of interference with the proceedings of the court of Brodera. He next demanded that the Shastree should be sent home; but the Shastree himself, won over by the machinations of Trimbukjee, expressed his willingness to remain, and Mr. Elphinstone did not press the point. A series of characteristic plots and counter-plots followed. The Shastree was treated by the Peishwah and his minister with marked kindness; the latter proposing to form with him a matrimonial alliance by the union of two of their children; nevertheless, when the grand point at stake came to be mooted, the influence of the Shastree proved unequal to obtain any direct cession of territory from the Guickwar. In a moment Bajee Rao's friendship was converted

into deadly hate, a feeling which the refusal of Gungadhur to permit his wife to visit the wife of the Peishwah tended in no degree to diminish. Trimbukjee saw that a closer connexion between his family and the family of the Shastree would now be productive of great injury to himself; and as he was too far committed to escape by any ordinary means, he adopted the following expedient, in order to free himself from his difficulties.

There is good reason to believe that to the whole project, both in its details and its accomplishment, the Peishwah was privy. Be this, however, as it may,—a solemn pilgrimage from Poonah to Nassik was announced; and the Shastree, himself a Brahmin, as well as his brother envoy, and Mr. Elphinstone, were easily persuaded to accompany it. They reached the sacred place; whence, at the suggestion of Trimbukjee, the Shastree alone agreed to travel to Pinderpoor where was a temple more than commonly venerated throughout Maharala. Thither neither Mr. Elphinstone nor Busunt Punchumee were permitted to proceed; indeed to restrain the former from volunteering his attendance extraordinary art was displayed, while the latter, made aware that his company would not be acceptable, refrained from pressing it. A very short time elapsed ere the true designs of Trimbukjee and his master became apparent to the world. The Shastree, after performing his devotions, was returning home unarmed, when four men set upon him, and

piercing him with many wounds, left him dead in the street.

However widely the individual might have erred from the course which his duty to the Guickwar and the English pointed out, Mr. Elphinstone still felt, that a gross outrage had been perpetrated by the assassination of an ambassador, for whose personal safety the representative of the supreme government had made himself responsible. He lost no time in demanding that the circumstances attending the murder should be investigated; and when he found that the application was eluded, he charged Trimbukjee with being concerned in the crime. His applications for redress were, however, met by continued evasions, and marks of personal disrespect. Both the Peishwah and Trimbukjee returned privately to Poonah as soon as the foul deed was perpetrated. Mr. Elphinstone hastened to the same place,—but neither could he obtain a personal audience, nor was his written memorial received till after every stratagem to defeat its object had been devised and employed.

Acting with not less of prudence than decision, Mr. Elphinstone, while he ceased not to demand redress for the public offence committed, took care to exempt the Peishwah himself from all participation in the guilt with which he charged the Moonshee. He required only that Trimbukjee should be put under restraint; because, so long as he remained at large, " his situation enabled him to commit

further acts of rashness, which he might undertake on purpose to embroil his highness with the British government." In expressing himself thus, the resident was by no means ignorant that the Peishwah had more than once made up his mind to share the fate of the favourite; and rather to risk all power, dominion, perhaps life, than give over his minion to be dealt with as the law of nations required. It was not, however, the business of the British government to provoke a quarrel even with the Peishwah; and, hence, to leave open to him the screen of the minister's responsibility was the act of a wise as well as of a brave man; but many weeks elapsed ere the Peishwah would consent to avail himself of the subterfuge. Some time previous to the murder of the Shastree, Bajee Rao had begun to levy corps both of horse and foot; he soon caused the work of enlistment to proceed with fresh vigour. Mr. Elphinstone entered a solemn protest against the procedure, and finding that no attention was paid to it, he ordered up to the residency the whole of the subsidiary force, and requested that the Hyderabad army should be moved to Jaulna, whence it might be ready, if required, to support him.

Throughout the month of August, 1815, affairs wore a very unsatisfactory aspect. The individuals on whose testimony Mr. Elphinstone founded his charge against Trimbukjee were tampered with in the most open manner, and the very escort of the Guickwar embassage

was, in a great degree, won over. Mr. Elphinstone did not venture to interfere by violence, lest the individuals, for whose safety such interference took place, should fall a sacrifice; but he drew together gradually such a body of troops, as served to convince the Peishwah of the inutility of further resistance, at least in this stage of the projected confederation. It would little interest the reader to be told of the shifts and subterfuges to which the infatuated Peishwah had recourse, in order to avoid that act which an irresistible necessity compelled him in the end to perform. Enough is done, when we say, that Mr. Elphinstone, who had early applied to the Governor-general for instructions, received them at an important crisis; that the Peishwah, conscious of his inability to withstand the storm, undertook to place the minister in confinement; and that the resident, not satisfied with this, required that he should be made over to the English, a demand with which it was found impossible to refuse compliance. By these means Trimbukjee became a prisoner at the Tauna fort in Salsette, while the Peishwah experienced every day an increasing desire to reunite the Mahrattas under his own banner, and stake all in a desperate struggle with the English.

While these things were in progress at the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, the Pindarries, of whose irruption in 1812 into the British territory we have already made mention, were

again pursuing their wild career according to the customs of their nation. Of the origin of these oriental moss-troopers it is not very easy to give a specific account. We find them first mentioned in Eastern history at the period of the earliest Mahratta invasions of Hindustan; when they appear to have performed the same kind of service to the Peishwah's armies which the Cossacks perform to the armies of Russia. When the Peishwah ceased, in person, to guide the progress of the Mahratta hordes, the Pindarries attached themselves to the several chiefs whom he left behind, and became in the lapse of time known as Scindiah-seca, or Holkar-seca, according as they followed the standards either of Scindiah or Holkar. Wheresoever they served, however, they continued always a distinct class of persons; indeed it not unfrequently occurred that a band which had supported one leader for a time, would, either from caprice or interest, pass over with its chief into the camp of his rival.

The first settlements to these professional freebooters were awarded by Scindiah in 1794, when he allotted to some of the most distinguished chiefs lands in the valley of the Nerbudda, and among the hills which skirt it to the north. From that time till about 1800, there were two principal chiefs, the brothers Heeroo and Burun, whose standards were annually raised in that valley at the season of the dusera (an annual festival that takes place at the end of October or the beginning of No-

vember), as a rallying point for all loose spirits and unemployed military adventurers. Here they consulted upon the best means of providing for the necessities of the year, by the exercise of rapine, accompanied by every enormity of fire and sword upon the peaceful inhabitants of the regular governments. Until the conclusion of the rains, and the fall of the rivers, their horses were carefully trained, to prepare them for long marches and hard work. The rivers generally became fordable by the close of the dusera. The horses were then shod, and a leader of tried courage and conduct having been chosen as Lubhureea, all that were so inclined set forth on a foray or *luhbur*. These parties latterly consisted of several thousands. All were mounted, though not equally well; out of a thousand, the proportion of good cavalry might be four hundred: the favourite weapon was a bamboo spear, from twelve to eighteen feet long; but as fire-arms were sometimes indispensable for the attack of the villages, it was a rule that every fifteenth or twentieth man of the fighting Pindarries should be armed with a match-lock. Of the remaining six hundred, four hundred were usually called *lootias*, indifferently mounted and armed with every variety of weapons; and the rest slaves, attendants, and camp-followers, mounted on *tattoos* or wild ponies, and keeping up with the luhbur in the best manner they could.

The progress of these hordes was, like that of

the whirlwind, utterly destructive of every thing over which they passed, and so rapid as to defy pursuit. Before them the country might be a garden, behind it was ever a desert; and of the enormities which they perpetrated upon all ages, sexes, and conditions, we will not pollute these pages by giving any account. Neither is it necessary to describe the feuds which, from time to time, arose among themselves; according as the leaders found that they were in a condition to command the support of one or more of the princes, whom they were in the habit alternately of serving and plundering. It may suffice for the present purpose to state, that in proportion as the authority of the rulers of central India became weak, the heads of these marauding clans acquired influence, till they became at last objects both of apprehension and respect to the discontented yet feeble princes in the midst of whom they wandered.

To the enormities perpetrated by the Pindarries in 1812, within the boundary line of the Company's territories, allusion has more than once been made. It was the first time that they had ventured to molest a power of which they stood justly in awe; and a suspicion very soon gained ground, that they had not done so without assurances of support elsewhere. Impressed with this conviction, and anxious to put a stop to a system which, even while it spared the subjects of the company, spread misery throughout the states in alliance with them, Lord Hastings had early applied for

the sanction of the Directors in execution of a plan, which had for its object, not so much the defence of the British provinces, as the extirpation from central India of these Pindarries. The Directors delayed to give their sanction, even when they avoided to refuse it; and Lord Hastings, though as little wanting as most men in moral courage, experienced a natural disinclination to act without it. But in 1815 events befell which convinced him that any further hesitation would only lead to the worst consequences. Two forays took place, one in the autumn of that year, the other in the spring of 1816; during which the possessions of the English and of the Nizam suffered outrage, while those of the Mahrattas, as well of Nagpoor as of Poonah, escaped uninjured. It was impossible any longer to shut his eyes to the true state of the case, and the Governor-general made arrangements for pressing the execution of the scheme which he had long and anxiously matured.

Much has been made of the attempted alliance between the Company and the state of Nagpoor, as well as of the connexion which subsisted for a brief space, and became so suddenly and unceremoniously interrupted with the little principalities of Bhopal. It chanced that in March, 1816, both the Nabob of Bhopal, by name Weizier Mohummed, and the Rajah of Nagpoor, Bagojee Bhoonslah, died; and that they were succeeded by their sons, both of them very young, and one imbecile

alike in body and in mind. Nuzur Mohummed, the new Nabob of Bhopal, had only youth and inexperience against him. His dispositions were noble, and he entertained a cordial affection for the English; whereas, Pursajee Bhoonslah, the son of Ragojee, was at once blind, paralytic, and a driveller. Nevertheless it was judged expedient to enter with both, if possible, certainly with the latter, into bonds of the closest union; and Lord Hastings, who cordially approved of the Nagpoor alliance, however much he might condemn the other, took steps to bring about the consummation with as little delay as possible.

There were two factions in the court of the Bhoonslah almost equally powerful. One of these was headed by Appa Sahib, the nephew of the late Rajah, in the event of Pursajee's death the heir to the throne; the other by Dhurangee Bhoonslah, an adopted son of the deceased sovereign. By the former, the right of acting in the capacity of regent was claimed; the latter endeavoured to invest Baka Baee, the favourite wife of Ragojee, with supreme authority. We will not pause to describe the course of events, which resembled in almost every particular the proceedings, under similar circumstances, of all contending parties in an Indian state. Attempts were made and had well nigh succeeded to bring Appa Sahib into contempt; indeed it became manifest to himself that if he desired to maintain any share of authority, he must look

for support elsewhere than at home; and his circumstances being well known to Mr. Jenkins the resident, a sort of mutual advance towards a good understanding took place. Of all this Lord Hastings was a great deal too sagacious not to avail himself. Appa Sahib, by a bold stroke of policy, made himself master of Dhurangee's person, and being named by the young Rajah regent, with absolute powers, he immediately contracted with Mr. Jenkins a subsidiary alliance. By the terms of that treaty he undertook to keep in pay, and to canton in his country, five battalions of infantry and one regiment of horse, besides supplying a corps of three thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, to be commanded by English officers; while in all other respects, as far as related to his intercourse with other nations, he placed himself on the same footing with the Nizam and the Peishwah. Thus was the link which had been so long wanting in the chain supplied, while a fatal check seemed to be given to that growing attachment among the Mahrattas, of which the consequences could not fail to prove, sooner or later, troublesome to the general repose of India.

Colonel Doveton, who had been warned in good time of the progress which events were making, no sooner received intimation that the treaty was ratified, than he marched the stipulated body of troops from Ellichpoor, and halted within a day's journey of Nagpoor itself. The

appearance of the British battalions excited both consternation and rage among the most influential of the Nagpoor statesmen, who began instantly, in the spirit of revenge, to offer more advantageous terms, provided Mr. Jenkins would consent to the deposition of Appa Sahib, and the transference of the chief authority into better hands. But besides that it corresponded not with the spirit of British policy to put up the national faith as it were to auction, Appa had taken care to have his rights specifically acknowledged in the letters which the government addressed to him when accepting the treaty. Moreover it was not unknown to Mr. Jenkins that among the individuals now so urgent for the Company's friendship, there were many who, but a few weeks previously, had threatened Appa with the deprivation of their services, unless he consented to follow up the line of diplomacy into which Ragojee in his latter years had fallen. Now this, as we need scarcely observe, had for its end a complete reunion of the Mahratta states under the Peishwah, and a general effort to deliver India from the yoke of British influence. Little encouragement was therefore given to their advance. On the contrary, Appa Sahib was advised to accept for the defence of his person a guard of British troops; but he declined to adopt that expedient, and contented himself with fixing his residence at a country house in the immediate vicinity of the canton-

ments which he had allotted for the accommodation of the English brigade.

Correspondent in point of time with this negotiation was a treaty which had for its object the renewal of the connexion which subsisted from 1803 to 1806, between the British government and the Rajah of Jypoor. It will be borne in mind that on the temporary abandonment of that system of which Lord Wellesley was the founder, and which is now universally admitted to have been both wise and necessary, the Rajah of Jypoor was thrown suddenly upon his own resources, and left to maintain himself as he best could, against the turbulent neighbours by whom he was surrounded. Of the ravages committed in his country by Holkar we have elsewhere taken notice, as well as of the frequent attacks to which he was liable from the tribes of organized banditti which sprang up everywhere on the close of the first Mahratta war. For a while the policy which brought about the seperation of so many ties was approved in England. But, about 1811, a more accurate knowledge of facts began to be acquired, and the same authorities which had commended Sir George Barlow for relieving himself from the trammels of useless alliances, recommended to Lord Hastings a renewal of those very alliances, particularly in the case of the Rajah of Jypoor.

Lord Hastings seems to have anticipated the adoption of that measure, as soon as a cessa-

tion of the Nepaul war should leave him space to act; not so much because he valued the alliance as an isolated transaction, as that it would add one more to the numbers of that general confederacy, by means of which he hoped to root out for ever the predatory hordes from India. While he thought of the most ready mode of accomplishing his wish, it was ascertained that Amer Khan had invaded Jypoor, and that the capital itself, if not already invested, ran imminent hazard of insult. Along with this intelligence came an earnest solicitation from the Rajah, for the extension to him of that protection of which he had never ceased to lament the deprivation, and a ready assurance that on the subject of conditions the will of the British government should be regarded as supreme. No time was lost in taking advantage of a contingency to which the moment gave peculiar value. A negotiation was immediately opened, and a treaty of alliance brought without difficulty to the point, where there needed but the mutual ratification of the two governments to render it complete.

The terms proposed to Jypoor, and conditionally accepted, were the same which had been previously offered to the government of Bhopal, one important clause being added, namely, that Jypoor, which possessed great resources, however depressed from temporary causes, should be called upon eventually to defray a large portion of the expenses which might be incurred in its protection. It ap-

peared in due time that to this condition, among others, the Rajah was never cordially reconciled; nevertheless the negotiation went on, and so satisfied was Lord Hastings of the absence of all intention to deceive, that he issued orders for the assembling of two corps of nine thousand men each in the vicinity of Malwah and Rew-oree. But there was an influence at court more powerful than that of the Rajah himself, which succeeded before long in dissipating all the expectations which the British government had been led to form. The nobles of Jypoor, a haughty and independent race, not dissimllar in their political and social condition to our own feudal nobility, could not brook the prospect of that total subversion of their power, of which they knew, from the condition of other states, that a British alliance would be the forerunner. While they appeared, therefore, to act cordially with the Rajah and his ministers, they carried on at the same time an intrigue with Ameer Khan, who, after being twice repelled in an attempt to complete the investment of the capital, became not unwilling to compromise a question which threatened to involve him in a war with the English. A sum of money being paid to him, the Patan chief withdrew, and the British alliance was with remarkable facility suspended.

All this while there were in progress throughout the whole of Maharala, plots and intrigues, of which it was the object to effect a general coalition of the Mahratta states, and the erec-

tion of a power sufficiently formidable to hold at least a balance with the British empire. For a time, indeed, Appa Saheb, if he took part in the matter at all, was especially careful to conceal from the English resident that he did so. On the contrary, having succeeded in placing the imbecile Rajah under the management of one of his own creatures, he appeared to rely more than ever upon his European friends, and even went so far as to commence a reform in the constitution of his army, which would have rendered it, not less than the army of the Nizam, entirely subservient to British control. In like manner Scindiah not only abstained from all interference with Bhopal, but expressed himself anxious to join in any measures that might be devised for the suppression of the Pindarries—at whose increasing strength, notwithstanding that its efforts were for the present but little directed against himself, it is extremely probable that he experienced alarm. Nevertheless the agents of the Peishwah were busy both in Nagpoor and Malwa, and their arguments began by degrees to tell there, as they had done with the chiefs of the Holkar family, and even with the Guickwar. In a word, the conspiracy was so well managed, that its ramifications gradually, but surely, spread over the whole of central India.

Such was the feverish state of the substantive powers during a large portion of the year 1816. With respect, again, to the Pindarries, precautionary measures had been adopted to

guard the British territories, and the territories of the allies, against their incursions. A connected chain of posts was drawn round that portion of India from which they were in the habit of emerging; and the Mahratta government were bound by solemn pledges neither to connive at a passage through their provinces, nor to afford shelter to such hordes as might fall back upon them. But the utter inefficiency of purely defensive measures was very soon demonstrated. Breaking up into bands more or less numerous, the Pindarries passed unobserved between the British posts, and swept with merciless ferocity over a large extent of country. They were pursued, it is true, here and there overtaken, and as often as this occurred overthrown with great slaughter; but they left behind them a degree of devastation much more than commensurate to the losses which they sustained either in life or plunder. Lord Hastings, who had stated his opinions in full, received, in the month of October, a dispatch from England, which authorised him to adopt more decisive measures in order to crush these freebooters; and he determined to avail himself of this license.

We stated some time ago that Trimbukjee, when surrendered into the hands of the English, was conveyed under a strong escort to a fort in the island of Salsette. It was well known that the Peishwah, who made no secret of his sorrow, would use every means of bribery and corruption to effect the liberation of his favourite; and the authorities adopted an

expedient for the purpose of counteracting these, plausible in appearance, but most unfortunate in its issue. They garrisoned the fort entirely with Europeans, so that the very sentinels who watched at the prisoner's door, and conducted him from place to place, were all Englishmen. By some strange oversight they forgot to exclude native menials, a class of men at least as much to be dreaded as the disciplined, and, generally speaking, faithful sepoys. One of these, a horse-keeper, by lineage a Mahratta, and devoted to the honour of his nation, early took service under the prisoner, and became a ready instrument of communication between him and his friends on the continent. While leading his horse in front of Trimbukjee's apartments, he was accustomed to chant a rude song, which, though altogether unintelligible to the European guard, was perfectly understood by the captive. The result may be anticipated. Having well matured their plans, and long and quietly laboured to render them feasible, Trimbukjee and his horse-keeper took advantage of an ebb-tide, escaped from the fort, and under the cover of night, fled to the mountains about Nassack and Singumnere. There, numerous and devoted partisans from among the Bheels, the Mangs, and other barbarous tribes joined them; and Trimbukjee soon found himself in a condition to appeal to arms, should any efforts be made again to deprive him of his liberty.

Mr. Elphinstone's first and most obvious

course was to inform the Peishwah of what had occurred, and to require the aid of the Poonah government in suppressing this movement, and securing the person of the fugitive. He was too well versed in the intricacies of Mahratta policy to anticipate any good from this appeal; indeed, the Peishwah had already excited his jealousy by a display of zeal in recruiting the army, quite disproportioned to the ostensible cause—a desire to act vigorously against the Pindarries. Nevertheless, the application was made, and to a certain degree attended to; that is to say, Goklah, one of the most distinguished of the Peishwah's generals, was sent out at the head of a force, with orders to disperse the rebels, and bring back Trimbukjee dead or alive. But Goklah, as was to be expected, failed to perform this service, and returned with a statement, that if any seditious movements were in progress, he could obtain of them no intelligence. Finally, the resident was given to understand that to the reported proceedings of Trimbukjee the court gave no credit; and that, if he persisted in believing tales in their nature so incredible, he was at liberty to employ his own troops in tracing them to their origin.

Convinced, by a contemplation of all that passed around him, that the Peishwah had been throughout privy to the movements of Trimbukjee, Mr. Elphinstone again applied to Calcutta for instructions,—pending the arrival of which, he adopted such expedients as the exigency of the case seemed to require. He

insisted, that if Trimbukjee himself were beyond the reach of seizure, his family and principal adherents should be arrested, and that an immediate stop should be put to the military preparations, which were not called for by terms of the alliance that subsisted between his Highness and the English Government. The better to insure an attention to his wishes, he called in a part of the subsidiary force; and drew together a body of troops, adequate, in the event of a rupture, to invest Poonah itself. Nevertheless, his demands were met only by evasions and deceit; while the treasure was silently removed from the capital, various places of strength put in a posture of defence, and the Peishwah himself, quietly arranging for a flight to the hills, a step which he had long meditated, and now prepared to take. Further reinforcements were ordered up, both from Bedar and the ceded districts subject to the Madras Presidency; and in due time, detachments began to act in different quarters, as if there were war between the English and the new levies. On the 1st of April Colonel Smith, with a select corps from the subsidiary force, pursued into the village of Jalna, and disarmed, a body of one hundred men. In Kandes, Captain Davies, at the head of six hundred horse, and a detachment of infantry belonging to the Nizam, engaged and put to the rout a corps of two thousand men, of which Godajee Dainglia, a near relative of Trimbukjee, was in command. These exploits, with the increasing strength of the division near

Poonah, wrought their natural effects upon the weak mind of Bajee Rao, who, after trying every expedient, first of dissimulation and then of bravado, gave way at last. Trimbukjee was proclaimed an outlaw; a price was set upon his head; and the members of his family, as well as the most influential among his known partisans, were placed under arrest.

The Peishwah had been warned that submission, however unqualified, would not now restore him to the place which he formerly held in the good opinion of his allies. He was assured, indeed, that many and important sacrifices would be exacted of him, and that any reluctance to make such sacrifices would be construed into a proof of hostile feeling, and draw down upon him the immediate anger of the English Government. Alarmed by these announcements, he had consented to yield up the strongholds of Rygurh, Porrundur, and Singurh; with the distinct understanding that if, at the end of one month, the conditions to be imposed upon him were complied with, and Trimbukjee in the power of the English, they should be restored. But the month passed away, and Trimbukjee was still at large, without, as far as could be ascertained at the residency, any effective measures having been used to seize him. It now became Mr. Elphinstone's duty to lay before the Peishwah the terms of a new treaty, on his acceptance or rejection of which the question of peace or war was understood to turn. They were unquestionably severe, yet the circumstances of

the times required nothing less; and the Peishwah, after repeated efforts to evade or soften them down, was compelled, on the 13th of June, to affix to them his signature. The following summary of the contents of a deed, since recognised as the Treaty of Poonah, we extract from Mr. Prinsep's valuable history.

Article 1 denounces Trimbukjee Dainglia, engages to punish his adherents, and to surrender his family to the British Government as hostages for his never being again countenanced.—Article 2 re-establishes the Treaty of Bassein, except as new modified.—Article 3 explains more specifically the former engagement, never to take Europeans or Americans into the service of the Peishwah.—Article 4 engages, in further execution of the previous stipulation respecting his Highness's conduct to other native powers, not to receive or send vakeels, or communicate in any manner, except through the British resident; further, renounces the character of supreme head of the Mahratta empire.—Article 5 commutes his Highness's past claims on the Guickwar, for an annual payment of four lacs of rupees, in case Amund Rao should consent; if he should not, arbitration to be made under the Treaty of Bassein; renounces all prospective claims unconditionally.—Article 6 exchanges the proviso for the Peishwah's contingent of five thousand horse, and three thousand infantry, for an engagement to furnish to the British Government the means of maintaining an equal force.—Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, provide for the

transfer and *arrondissement* of territories to be ceded for this purpose, with their forts, according to a schedule; and for the date and operations, or the cessions, from the 5th of June, the commencement of the Hindoo year. —Article 11 authorises the discretionary increase of the subsidiary force, and its employment in reducing the ceded districts.—Article 12 cedes Ahmednuggur, with a glacis of two thousand yards, and engages to furnish pasture lands for the subsidiary force.—Articles 13 and 14 cede to us all the Peishwah's rights over Bundelcund, in Malwa, or elsewhere, in Hindostan.—Article 15 renews the farm of Ahmedabad to the Guickwar, for an annual payment of four and a half lacs of rupees; exclusive, however, of the Katteewar tribute. Besides these, there were three articles relating to certain arrangements between the Peishwah and others of the native powers; of which, as they bear in no degree upon the subject of this history, it is unnecessary to give an account.

Such was the Treaty of Poonah, to the accomplishment of the terms of which no immediate opposition arose. Of the effect which it produced upon the future proceedings of the Poonah government, we shall have occasion to speak at a future stage in our history.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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